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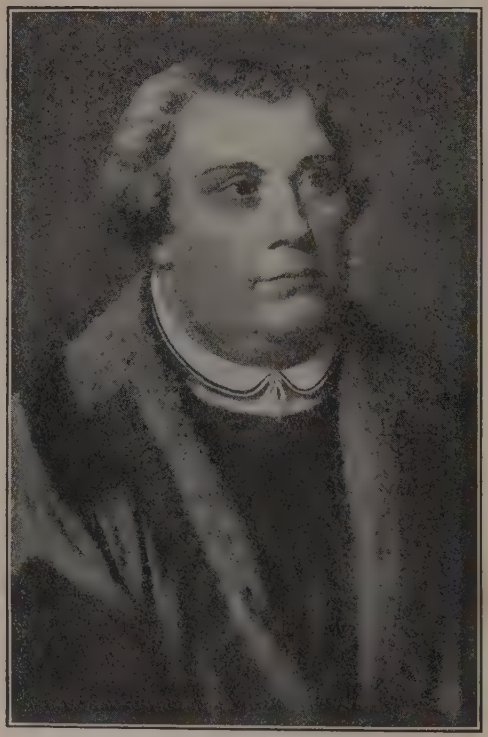

Dr. Martin Luther.

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Four Hundred Years.

Commemorative Essays on the Reformation of Dr. Martin Luther and Its Blessed Results.

In the year of the

Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation.

BY VARIOUS LUTHERAN WRITERS.

Edited by PROF. W. H. T. DAU.

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FOREWORD.

A comparatively unknown priest and professor in a small German town on the border of civilization sought to ease his pastoral conscience by inviting the learned doctors of his day to discuss with him a very simple question of Biblical teaching and Christian morals: Can pardon for sins be sold and bought at so much per? There was nothing unusual in his action: hundreds of others had done the same thing before him, many more after him. Nor was the question difficult. There has never lived a person who has truly believed that a moral debt can be liquidated in hard cash. But in every age there have been persons credulous enough to become impressed with a pretension of mysterious spiritual power; and there have been others of a shrewdly calculating disposition who have thought it a fine convenience to be permitted to settle their account, if not with God, at least with the Church, on the contract plan of Give and Take, rather than on the terms which the Redeemer offers, when He says: Repent and believe the Gospel! Every age, too, has produced enterprising men who would contrive in some way to accommodate these interesting religious bargain-hunters.

Four hundred years have passed since the event took place. That is a sufficiently long time for the entire affair to be forgotten. Few deeds of men amid the kaleidoscopic scenes of this fleeting life outlive oblivion. Luther's protest contained the seeds of immortality. The world has assured itself long ago that there was wrapped up in that simple, but courageous challenge more than a cursory glance at the event in its external aspect would warrant

any one to assume. Not only has the original act of the Friar of Wittenberg been studied with unflagging interest during four centuries, but also the bearings of that act on the entire spiritual life of mankind have been uncovered. Aside from its immediate effect on the accredited form of the Christian religion of the day, there have resulted from it, more or less indirectly, great changes in the intellectual and social status of the race. Measuring the magnitude of importance that is now attached to the event against the insignificance of its original setting, one marvels that out of so little there should have come so much. Surely this is not a mere man's doing: this is the finger of the Almighty. The feat of slaying a panoplied giant with a ridiculous pebble hurled from the sling of a shepherd boy has been repeated.

Once more the world is preparing to review causes and effects of this remarkable event. In the form of histories, biographies, popular narratives, works of fiction, the Reformation in Germany has been told by hundreds of authors. In thousands of monographs particular features of the movement have been subjected to minute investigation. Some years ago a brother, at our request, spent hours in the British Museum of London turning the pages of that part of the catalog of the famous institution that contains the "Lutherana." Vastly greater still are treasures of this kind hoarded by the libraries of Germany. It seems hardly possible that anything new can be written on the subject.

The present volume of studies in the history of Luther and his work is put forth with no claim that it contributes elements hitherto unknown to the world's knowledge. It desires to be viewed, first, as a thank-offering to God and an appreciation of God's instrument in the upbuilding of His one, holy, Christian Church on earth. It is, therefore, a record of the personal faith of the contributors to this volume and of hundreds of thousands of brethren who

share that faith with them. The individuality that is stamped upon these essays, and the variety of views which they afford of identical or related facts, has not destroyed the unity of the whole, but will, it is hoped, lead the reader to the reflection that real unity is inward, not outward; it is not sameness, dead monotony, repetition, but the lively working together of the members of an intelligent organism, who, while acting independently and in conformity with their peculiar powers in their given tasks, still are obeying a common principle and realizing a common aim. Secondly, the special studies here offered, by focusing attention on a particular feature in the character of Luther and his work or on a critical episode in his activity, exhibit the many-sidedness of the Reformer and the wealth of information that can be gathered by effort concentrated on a given point. It is always the same Luther that is portrayed, but he is shown in each case at a different angle of vision. Turning to any chapter of this book, the reader will get a fairly complete account of a subject, the materials for which he could not gather himself except by laborious research in many volumes. In arranging the various articles, historical sequence has been followed in a general way, discussions of the more abstract subjects having been placed in suitable connections. The chronological table at the end helps to locate events in the panorama of Luther's life.

Four hundred years! As the eye sweeps down the vista of centuries, and the dim past rises into view, the mind becomes fascinated by the mighty struggles, the astonishing sacrifices, the noble faith of a heroic age. At first the world seems out of joint and a new chaos impending. But out of the confusion there rises a new order. Conquering truth stands triumphant on the battle-field. Owing to the folly and malice of men its coming was a challenge and the signal of war. It will always be thus: the assertion

of truth spells strife in a world in which all men are liars. The spirit of Luther is marching on, leading to new victories. But in reality the advent of evangelical truth four hundred years ago has ushered in a great peace and prosperity. Coleridge probably knew too little of the Lutheran Church to be able to estimate correctly her valuation of Luther, but he is right otherwise when he says: "How would Christendom have fared without a Luther? What would Rome have done and dared but for the ocean of the reformed that bounds her? Luther lives yet — not so beneficially in the Lutheran Church as out of it — an antagonistic spirit to Rome and a purifying and preserving spirit to Christianity at large." So is Froude right: "Had there been no Luther, the English, American, and German peoples would be thinking differently, would be acting differently, would be altogether different men and women from what they are at this moment."

God bless the Church for which Luther labored, and speed her cause in every part of the world: the cause of the open Bible, of free grace, of saving faith! May Christ continue to be to her what Luther proclaimed Him: her all-sufficient Teacher, her merciful Reconciler, her loving Shepherd-King!

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.
On the Festival of the Reformation, 1916.

W. H. T. Dau.

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Formation — Deformation — Reformation.

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Although the Reformation of the sixteenth century has left its impress on many phases of modern life, it is of supreme significance as a religious movement, turning from the aberrations of popery to the eternal foundations, restoring the true conception of the Church and the mode of obtaining membership therein, and building up, on the model of the Apostolic Church of Christ, the Church of the Reformation. For a proper appreciation of this great movement no retrospect from its consequences alone suffices; we must also and chiefly consider its antecedents, that is to say, the Formation and the Deformation of *the Church,* whose character and origins are depicted in Scripture, and whose deterioration and abasement is recorded by history.

FORMATION.

According to Holy Writ, God created man good and holy, and, even after the Fall, would have all men to be saved. Most men reject the grace of God; some, however, believe in Christ and have their sins forgiven. These, of whatever time or clime, are *"the communion of saints,"* "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people," to show forth God's praises; a *kingdom* of souls in, but not of, the world, believing in Christ, their King; a spiritual *edifice,* erected, not of dead, but of living stones, living children of God, who, living by Christ and in Christ, and having the mind of Christ, are fitted together — brethren all, though of various nations and stations — to form a holy temple and habitation of God among men; one holy Christian *Church* throughout all ages, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. God erects His Church by means

ating arrogance (2 Cor. 11, 20). Nor did they contradict and counteract their teaching by domineering practise. At the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) the apostles spoke, but when action was taken, we read: "Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole church," etc. Happy a church with such teachers!

The Word of Christ established the Church and ruled it, and history bears witness to its purifying power in those cleansed with the blood of Christ and sanctified by the Spirit of His grace. Its high ideal of the Christian life becoming to the saints and children of God prevented the impenitent sinner from even outward union with the flock of Christ, and taught the Christians to keep themselves unspotted from the world, to respect the dignity and purity of womanhood, to regard even the slave as a brother in Christ, to honor civil government, to succor the needy, and to do good to all men, in short, to order their daily lives wholly and strictly in accordance with their faith. Its regenerating influence, as it had turned a Saul into a Paul, transformed many a malefactor into a saint. Its consolations gave them calmness and confidence and fearlessness in the face of the bitterest animosity, to look away from the things of the earth to the things of heaven. Its prophecy of their Lord's second coming filled them with the joy of expectation.

Thus the early Church in doctrine and, to a high degree, in life was a veritable garden of the Lord on earth. An enthusiastic faith glowed in the hearts of the Christians. The walls of the temple were growing, its early completion was expected. Paul forewarned them, however, 2 Thess. 2, that before Christ's second coming the Church must experience the great apostasy through "the man of sin," who would exalt himself in the very temple of God as a god to deceive men unto their destruction.

DEFORMATION.

In the apostles' own times "the mystery of iniquity" was already at work, Satan scattering abroad the seeds of heresy and vanity to render Christ, the Prophet, Priest, and King

of His Church, the only Mediator, of none effect, and to usher in the Antichrist.

During the early days of the conflict, the Church remained, upon the whole, pure in doctrine and life. Presbyters would not claim the ruling power belonging, as they well knew, to all saints. But with Christianity in the ascendant and the churches growing in numbers, wealth, influence, and worldliness, the Church came to be regarded, no longer as the invisible "communion of saints," but, by harking back to the old Jewish notion, as an earthly kingdom, in which the clergy (originally those chosen, elected) were an order or caste of rulers, and the laity (the people, those outwardly connected with the Church) the ruled. Then influential presbyters called themselves bishops, and bishops, styling themselves successors to the apostles, aspired to be great princes of the Church. This episcopal aristocracy claimed Christ's continual presence and His Spirit's guidance, His keys to bind and to loose, His protection against the gates of hell, as its own exclusive heritage and prerogative. In the interest of the unity and purity of the Church in the face of heresy and worldliness rather than for the aggrandizement of the episcopate, Cyprian based the episcopal authority on Christ's words to Peter (Matt. 16, 18), emphasizing the equality of all bishops, though conceding to Peter a certain primacy of honor. Here was the idea of a Universal Bishop, of the Church as a sacerdotal monarchy. The bishops of imperial Rome, the alleged successors to Peter, "prince of apostles," seized upon the idea as promising them even more than imperial glory and power. A voice beside them seemed to whisper: "All this will I give you. Ye shall be as gods!" In consequence, from century to century they asserted more and more definitely, insistently, impudently, threateningly, their right, as "vicars of Christ," to be the visible heads of all Christendom; and with consummate zeal and ability, apt pupils of pagan Rome, now biding their time, now forcing issues, now using "earth in defense of heaven," now "heaven itself to defend earthly possessions," consistently, relentlessly, they strove to make

the vision a reality, to convert the primacy of honor into a supremacy of power.

Protests were of no avail; the times favored Rome. While the Eastern bishoprics bowed to the Eastern Empire and ere long, with the exception of Constantinople, were submerged beneath the tidal wave of Islam, the papal see, the Mother Church and only *sedes apostolica* of the West, increasingly independent of civil control, attaching to itself with the decline and fall of the Western Empire the imperial glory of "eternal Rome," allying itself in the turmoil of Teutonic migrations against the Arian menace with the Franks, found in this Germanic people, from Chlovis to Charlemagne, the rising tide that carried it to the supreme power. The papal claims, born of human ambition and satanic delusion, based on misinterpretation of Scripture, and bolstered up with interpolations and forgeries, were repudiated wholly by the Eastern Church; in the West, however, Rome carried through its program with magnificent success, until the pope held on earth, as he said, "the place of God Almighty."

As "vicar of Christ" the pope was the head of a gigantic hierarchical corporation, which he called the kingdom of God, outside of which there is no salvation, for which he made and unmade at will laws and articles of faith, and participation in which he conditioned upon the administration of his sacraments by his priests. The Scriptures, as being dark and incomplete, he interpreted, supplemented, and perverted from apocryphal legends, the teachings of tradition, or his own fancy, saying in effect: "Search not the Scriptures; I am the Lord, your God; I am the way and the truth and the life." For his "infallible" ordinances he exacted unconditional obedience as the price of salvation. His hand was laid on men in their education, their reading, their amusements, their business. He touched them in this life and in that to come, regulating the purgatorial sufferings and opening or closing the door of heaven itself. He taxed all Christendom with tithes and fees. All authority on earth being derived from God, all temporal rulers were of necessity,

as no less a man than Augustine had taught in his *City of God,* subordinate to the pope, and bound to do his bidding or lose their thrones. Active dissenters were not only excommunicated and driven out of reputable association with their fellow-men, but handed over to severe punishments, inflicted, at his instance, by civil authority. Thus a priest of the Tiber and his celibate abettors with spiritual sanctions and with fire and sword held men in bondage, professedly to save their souls. This was the ship of Peter, pope and clergy within, the laity struggling with the waves and imploring to be rescued.

What, then, was the salvation held out to men by popery? In brief, salvation without Christ, an achievement of men's own efforts, crowned by priestly mediation. Man was not, by means of the Law, shown his utter sinfulness, but led to believe himself possessed of at least some power for good. He was not, from the Gospel, shown that the merits of Christ are sufficient for the expiation of all sins, and that God for His sake forgiveth us all our sins. Instead, he was told that, as faith was to be accounted as little more than an outward confession of the Creed, works were necessary for salvation, chiefly works, and mainly such as the Church prescribed, as fidelity to the pope, auricular confession, mass, celibacy, monkery, invocation of Mary and of saints, by which a holy man might wax holier than required even to the winning of supererogatory merit. Man was told that the priest could forgive his sins, though obliged to augment Christ's merit by offering up Christ again and again in sacrificial mass, and that he could impose penances, such as fastings, pilgrimages, flagellations, and the like, or commute these, for a consideration, into indulgences transferring to the sinner's account righteousness from the inexhaustible treasury of merits laid up by saints and managed by the priests. To be the more solicitous in works, man was led to tremble forever in doubt of the certainty of his salvation. Truly, here was man estranged from the love of Christ, and delivered up to a greedy priesthood to his own undoing. To charm the senses, the pope tricked out his system with

gorgeous ceremonies and alluring melodies. But amid the pomp and pageantry of crowns and gowns and croziers, processions and genuflections, relics and rosaries, incense and chrism and candles and crucifixes, tinkling of bells and sprinkling of holy water, benedictions and consecrations, paternosters and Ave Marias, — a ceremonial not utterly remote from the prayer-wheel and other rites of the Dalai Lama, — where was the knowledge of the living God, of the loving, all-sufficient Savior from sin? Under Christian forms men were offered for salvation the pagan creed of human works. Christ seemed to have died for the world, and established His Church in vain. The "mystery of iniquity" sat enthroned in God's temple. Rome gave its obedient children stones for bread. It fleeced the flock instead of feeding it. The house of God had become a den of thieves.

How was it in those evil days with the spiritual kingdom and temple of God, "the communion of saints"? Some few, no doubt, found the truth of salvation despite the delusions abroad. To speak the truth aloud meant papal anathema, dungeon, stake, and sword. The great mass of the people lacked true knowledge. Rome aligned whole nations into its outward organization, with accommodation to native prejudices, and the result was baptized heathenism. At best, its discipline helped to police unruly communities, but it failed to effect their spiritual regeneration. Had it but preached the grace of God in Christ Jesus with its divine power of touching and transforming the wildest hearts, the Dark Ages in less than the thousand years of papal domination would have been radiant with faith and progress. Rome left the nations in ignorance of divine truth; its indulgences were to the multitude a license to sin. Consequently the corruption of morals in papal times was appalling, and the abomination stood in the holy places. Rome was, indeed, the purple harlot of the Apocalypse, that paraded as the bride of Christ, making drunk with her wine the princes of the earth, so that they lent her their arm for the spiritual and bodily

destruction of the true bride; and the scarlet woman was drunk with the blood of the saints. The visible Church, — from its first estate, alas, how fallen!

Men sighed and groaned and cursed under the yoke of Rome, but could not break away from it, because, having lost true knowledge of Christ, they believed the pope to be the divinely appointed mediator between God and man. The false doctrine that the pope was "the vicar of Christ" led to the deformation of the Church, and was the barrier preventing reformation. It served to palliate all abuses. If the hierarchy gave offense by wicked lives, there was no recourse, since, in spite of everything, from the priests alone men must obtain salvation, or be lost. This doctrine sufficed to shackle the temporal powers. The Empire, representing in little more than theory God's political government, and the rising national states, infringing on the imperial claim of universality, — all were compelled, if need be by ban and interdict, and by incitement of the populace to rebellion, to tolerate the papal revenue collectors and submit to papal political interference through the landholding prelacy dependent on Rome. This doctrine preserved the papacy as an institution, when in licentious Avignon it had become a tool of French policy and a source of grievance to all other nations, and when in the great schism it had become a reproach and byword of contempt. This doctrine had absorbed the Clugny reform movement and placed its exponent, Hildebrand, on the pinnacle of power. To this doctrine the Mystics bowed in all their spiritual ardor. This doctrine was the excuse for fire and sword, for the slaughter of Albigensian and Waldensian innocents. This doctrine proved stronger than Wyclif and Hus and Jerome and Savonarola. This doctrine, like a magic charm, held the best of men under the iron scepter of the dragon throne, making them even carry fagots for the burning of saints. This doctrine forestalled every conciliar attempt at betterment "in head and members," because in the popular conviction the pope was by divine right the gatekeeper of heaven, and therefore sacred and indispensable. The bishops made

their peace with Peter, not to their own disadvantage. Princes alternately fought or bought the pope. The evil continued. Men sighed and groaned and cursed, but bore their burden, because salvation came from Rome.

REFORMATION.

A reformation was sorely needed, but it seemed impossible. Nevertheless, in the darkest night God had not forgotten His people, and in His own good time *He* reformed the Church, even as *He* had formed it, by the Spirit of His mouth, by the Word of His grace and power. He selected the time and the place, provided the man, and so ordered the circumstances and shaped the trend of events as to afford His work the conditions of success. The political embarrassments of emperor and pope, the Turkish menace, Germany's lack of national unity, the fermenting economic discontent of the peasantry, the rising prosperity and independence of the cities, the invention of printing, the revival of learning, and the occupation of such men as Reuchlin and Erasmus with the original texts of Scripture, the genius of Luther and his compeers, all the seething forces of the day, — aids all, not causes, of the Reformation, — God directed so to work together as to provide for His Gospel an entrance into the hearts of men, to dethrone the despot priest, and to re-establish the liberty of His children in His kingdom.

It will be instructive to trace the main stages of development by which God trained and prepared the chief instrument of the Reformation, Martin Luther. Luther had been taught to fear God, and he strove, as few have striven, to acquire by the way the Church taught him the righteousness that had the approval of God. But neither his own works nor the services of priests or saints brought comfort to his soul. Then God led him to find in His Word the truth that righteousness is by grace, through faith in Christ the Righteous, not acquired by merit of works, but the free gift of God. It was a discovery that brought him peace, one he pondered over incessantly and hastened to impart to all as, to his simple belief, the actual, though obscured, doctrine of

the papal Church. What could he do but appeal against the unspeakable blasphemy of Tetzel's indulgences to the rulers of the Church, whom, despite the sins and abuses he had occasion to witness among the clergy, he regarded as divinely appointed? But, behold, bishop and cardinal and pope sided with Tetzel against God! Surely, they erred. God gave him boldness to speak out. And pope and cardinal and bishop bade him be silent, silent about what God Himself had spoken and had wrought in him! Nay, they placed upon him the excommunication of the heretic! And yet God's Word was true, and yet the doctrine of grace in Christ was true, and yet God still regarded him as His child and a member of His Church; for — now he saw it clearly — the Church was not the visible Roman hierarchy, but "the communion of saints," the company of all true believers, each one of whom was a child of God and a priest of God with free access, since Christ's coming, to the Father's heart. With horror he realized the abysmal villainy of popery posing as intermediary between God and man to the exclusion of Christ. The pope? A blasphemous usurper he, "the man of sin," "the son of perdition," the Antichrist enthroned in God's temple! Luther feared God; he no longer feared the pope. God had made him free.

Here was not a social reformer or a political agitator, not a philosopher exposing the fallacy of popery, not a champion of the original rights of reason. Here was a soul in eager search of salvation, a man whom God had given the knowledge and peace of Christ, and strength to say to popes and to princes, to mobs and to thinkers: "We ought to obey God rather than men."

Three leading truths Luther had learned by the grace of God:

1) Christ is the Prophet of His Church, the only infallible Teacher. His written Word, the Word of God, is the saving truth, the only safe rule of faith and life.

2) Christ is the Priest of His Church, whose one sacrifice atoned for all the sins of all men. Only God's free grace in Christ, the only and perfect Mediator, is the way of salvation.

3) Christ is the King of His Church, its only Master and Head, and all members of His spiritual body and kingdom are brethren.

With the glorious titles and offices of Christ the pope had invested himself as "vicar of Christ," and corrupted the way of salvation; by restoring the way of salvation the Reformation emancipated mankind from popery to worship the living God in spirit and in truth.

When the old Gospel message of the wonderful works of God again was heard, heard in the vernacular, as Bible-text, catechetical instruction, sermon, or hymn, the Spirit of God came in among men, and multitudes experienced with joy what Luther had experienced. With lightning swiftness, as if borne on angels' wings, the Word spread from mouth to mouth, from land to land through Christendom. It achieved what no political or social discontent, no enlightenment of reason could have accomplished. When men once recognized in Christ their only Mediator and Redeemer, the fear of Rome fell from their hearts, they threw off the galling yoke of the tyrant and worshiped Jesus Christ, their God and King.

The Reformation, while not territorially coextensive with the old-time domain of Rome, was in substance thorough and complete and final. It rejected all popish errors, and reestablished all of God's truth. It gave back to men the Bible, the true knowledge of justification, and the spiritual priesthood of all believers. It evolved no new teaching. It was a return to the eternal foundations, a revival and restoration of apostolic Christianity, a regeneration. It established a church in which again, as in apostolic days, precious things were spoken, and in which a blessed people freely communed with its God; a church which, conservative in spirit, retained of the stately ritual grown up in the course of ages whatever was consonant with Scripture; a church which, tenacious of the liberty of God's children, declared the congregations to be the seats of authority, defined its independence from the State, and in time of need accepted the guidance of princes only as that of prominent members

of the church, pronounced the form of church-government a matter of Christian liberty, and forbade binding men's consciences with human ordinances as of like force with divine commands; a church which by a proper use of the office of the keys segregated offenders from the flock, which taught its members to honor hearth and home above the cloister of the celibate, to obey civil magistrates, and to regard labor in ordinary callings as of greater glory than monkery, and which in a thousand ways was an unmeasured blessing to the social, political, and intellectual life of mankind. The Church of the Reformation was built, in essential conformity with the Apostolic Church, on the only and final oracles of God. Other foundation can no man lay. Beyond this it is not safe to go. To reform the Reformation, to seek further development of the Church along "modern" lines, away from Scripture truth, means another deformation, a relapse into the pagan, papal religion of works.

The quadricentennial of the Reformation exhorts us to value our glorious birthright in the Church of the Reformation, which as a free Church in this our land of freedom lifts aloft the torch of truth to guide us through the difficulties of life and through the valley of the dark shadows. Be it ours to maintain God's Word and Luther's doctrine pure, holding that fast which we have, that no man take our crown. Foes there are without number, but God is with His own, and will protect and prosper His Church, until the temple is completed, and Antichrist is destroyed with the brightness of our Lord's coming.

Luther's Family.

ARTHUR H. C. BOTH, Chicago, Ill.

Among the low, wooded hills of Thuringia, in the very heart of the German States, lies the little village of Mochra. It probably received its name from the character of the soil around it, which is to a great extent moorland, and but poorly suited to agriculture. The villagers of Mochra cer-

tainly earned their bread in the sweat of their brow, for the soil but poorly repaid them for their industry. Mining also was carried on here, as copper had been found; but the yield was not so great as at Mansfeld and other places.

As a village, Moehra was insignificant. It was affiliated with the neighboring parish, and though it had a little chapel, yet it was without a priest. The villagers were mostly independent peasants, who owned their homes and farms, while others worked in the mines. They were a hardy and sturdy race, and lived frugal, but honest lives. Their customs were plain and vigorous. They were ever ready to defend their rights with their fists, yet, withal, Christians, as Christianity went in those days. Time and again the youngest sons had taken over their fathers' homes and farms, while the older brothers sought their fortunes in other places and other occupations.

From time immemorial Moehra had been the home of the Luthers, and here Hans Luther had grown to manhood, and entered the state of matrimony with Margareta Ziegler. However, as custom deprived him of the hope of some day taking over the paternal homestead, Hans thought he would seek his fortune in some other place, and so, together with his young wife, he emigrated to Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld. Here he hoped to find a better opportunity of making an honest living by working in the mines, which in those days were flourishing in a way never known around Moehra.

Here in the miners' quarters at Eisleben, on the 10th of November, 1483, their first child was born to the young couple, and, agreeably to the custom of the time, baptized in St. Peter's Church on the following day. Because it was the day of St. Martin, the child was named after that saint. Tradition still points out the house in which Martin Luther was born, though only the walls of the original house still stand. The church was later enlarged and called Peter and Paul's Church. It is said that the present baptismal font retains portions of the old. But so many miners were attracted to Eisleben that Hans Luther failed to realize his

expectations, and when Martin was only six months old, he moved to Mansfeld, six miles away.

Mansfeld lies on the banks of a stream, is enclosed by hills, and above it stands the stately castle of the counts to whom the place belonged. The scenery is more severe and the air harsher than at Mochra, and in general the people were rougher than the Thuringians. Hans Luther found employment in the mines, and his wife did all she could to help to support the family. "My father," the Reformer said, "was a poor miner; my mother carried in all the wood upon her back; they worked the flesh off their bones to bring us up." Gradually, however, things improved, and we hear that Hans Luther leased two smelting-furnaces from the counts for a term of years, and even bought a good dwelling-house in the principal street of the town. Though his outward prosperity did thus improve, the maintenance and education of his family was a constant cause of anxiety.

Hans Luther bore a good reputation among his townsmen, and as early as 1491 was a member of the town magistracy. He associated with the best families, was personally known to the counts and was much esteemed by them. When Martin Luther had acquired fame, his parents frequently visited him in Wittenberg, and moved with simple dignity among his friends. Melanchthon describes Hans Luther as a man who by the purity of his character and conduct won for himself universal affection and esteem. "The mother," he says, "was a worthy woman, distinguished for her modesty, her fear of God, and constant communion with God in prayer."

In their home the Luthers maintained their children in strict discipline, but they meant heartily well by it. They taught their children simple prayers and hymns, and as they themselves had been taught, represented God and Jesus as stern judges, whose wrath would only be appeased by securing the intercession of the saints. The Church and the pope were held in reverent awe.

Not yet five years old, Martin was sent to the town school. In bad weather his father or Nicolas Oemler, an older school-

mate, who later married Luther's sister, often carried him over the steep and long way to the schoolhouse. With diligence he learned the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. He was also instructed in reading, writing, and in the rudiments of Latin grammar. The teachers, however, were extremely severe and rude, and Luther complains in later life that the examinations were like a trial for murder. Still there was no other schooling to be had in his days, and his father had decided to give his son all the education he could get. After finishing the course of the school at Mansfeld at the tender age of fourteen, we behold Martin leaving his paternal home with Hans Reinecke, whose father was overseer of the mines at Mansfeld, to take up his studies at Magdeburg. And so we also leave the family of Hans and Margareta Luther in Mansfeld, and follow the great Reformer into his own family.

One day, in the fall of 1508, the good folks of Wittenberg beheld a pale and emaciated monk of about twenty-five years enter their city over the wooden bridge that crossed the Elbe. He had come from Erfurt and asked to be directed to the Augustinian Convent, where he was to find shelter and food with the brothers of his order. His departure from Erfurt had been so abrupt and unexpected that "Brother Augustine" had not found time to take formal leave of his friends; and his entrance at Wittenberg was just as sudden and informal. But he had come at the command of his superior, Dr. Staupitz, and by the will of the Elector of Saxony, to be one of the professors at the University of Wittenberg, which had been founded in 1502, and for which institution only the very best talent was being sought. At once our good friar engaged in his occupation, and, as was to be expected, devoted all his time and his enormous energies to his new task. The wisdom of Dr. Staupitz in selecting Luther soon became apparent, and before long the renown of the young professor spread far beyond his university.

But though his fame grew, he remained the pious and humble brother, and lived scrupulously and conscientiously

according to the rules of his convent. Little did he need to supply his daily wants. Often a few pieces of bread and a little salt made up his daily ration. His personal comfort he neglected altogether. Melanchthon says that for a whole year he did not take time to make his bed or change his bedding. The days passed too rapidly, and often there was not time enough for all the reading, writing, and studying that he wished to do.

Thus seventeen years passed, and in them many great events occurred. The Ninety-five Theses had been nailed to the door of the Castle Church. Luther had faced Church and State at Worms, the New Testament had been translated into the country's vernacular, and the German people were drinking divine truth from its undefiled fountainhead, and thousands of Christians had become divinely assured of their salvation by grace, for Christ's sake, through faith. Luther had been excommunicated and outlawed, and yet he lived, and his influence grew from day to day.

A natural result of Luther's evangelical preaching was that monasticism lost its imagined virtue with the people. Matrimony again became a holy estate. Priests and monks realized the Biblical truth that it is not good that man should be alone. They had vainly sought to achieve the acme of holiness in the unevangelical, papal institution of celibacy, that man should be alone. Many, therefore, left their convents, and took wives, and began to live as God had ordained it soon afer creation.

At last Luther also, rather suddenly and without consulting many friends, decided to prove his teaching by his own example. To please his old father, and to spite the devil, he laid aside his monk's cowl, and repudiated his vow of celibacy, and in the presence of Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Dr. Apel, and Lucas Cranach reverently and in the fear of God took Catherine Von Bora to be his wedded wife. The marriage was solemnized by Bugenhagen, the city pastor, in the customary way, on June 13, 1525. Two weeks later a public celebration took place, at which his parents also were present.

The former convent, which during the last years had been occupied by only Luther and Brisger, the prior, now became the home of the great Reformer and his family with their many friends and guests, both illustrious men and poor students, near relatives and parasites. Now no longer were the vigils kept, nor the fasts practised, nor the hours prayed; no longer did the gloom and austerity of the monastic mode of living prevail. Through its halls and rooms now resounded the joyful laughter and singing of children, the pleasant conversation of Kate and Aunt Lena and the ladies. The old cloister had become an evangelical parsonage. Instead of chanting the various liturgies to the saints, the Ave Marias, the matins and vespers, the household now joined in family devotion, praying the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Psalms. A new order, indeed, had been introduced.

Though Luther's marriage to Catherine Von Bora was not at all romantic, yet he certainly loved her with a pious and pure affection, and Catherine willingly reciprocated his love. Luther's letters to his wife plainly show this, as do also remarks which he made about her to his friends. In fine Christian harmony they lived together and for each other.

From morning till evening Kate was busy with the affairs of the house and garden. She purchased the necessary supplies, provided for the ever present guests, ruled the servants and maids, and cared for the physical wants of the children. The house was truly Kate's domain, and very seldom did Luther take any part in the management of its affairs. In fact, he had neither the time nor the inclination for these things.

The simplicity of living which he had practised in the convent he kept up in his own home. As a rule, plain, but wholesome food was served to the family. Only on special occasions would finer food be seen on his table. In both eating and drinking he was moderate. When away from home and dining more elegantly, he would write to his

Kate and tell her how well he liked his meals at home. At times, when sorely pressed with work, he would lock himself up in his study, and even forget all about his meals. The little physical exercise which he permitted himself, and which he certainly needed, he sought in his garden or at the turner's lathe together with his faithful old servant Wolfgang Sieberger.

Luther's family consisted of six children. The oldest was Hans, who was born on June 7, 1526. He studied law and became counselor at the court at Weimar. Elizabeth died in early infancy. To a friend Luther wrote: "Elizabeth bade us farewell to go to Christ, through death to life." To another he wrote: "She left me with a strangely ill, almost effeminate heart," so deeply did the death of his little babe touch this great man. On May 4, 1529, his little darling Magdalene was born. She was a gentle and pious child, and never caused her father to be angry with her. Returning from a recreation trip in 1542, he found his darling seriously ill. She longed to see her brother Hans, who was attending school at Torgau. So Hans was brought home. Piously resigned to the will of God, Luther saw her strength fail her, and prayed to God: "I love her exceedingly well; but, gracious God, if it is Thy will to take her, I will gladly know her to be with Thee." Shortly before she died he asked her, "Magdalene, my little daughter, you would like to remain here with your father, and you would also gladly go to your heavenly Father?" She answered, "Yes, kindest father, as God wills." While Luther knelt before her bed, weeping bitterly and praying for her delivery, she breathed her last. His next son was Martin. He studied theology, but never held a position. He was sickly, and died at the age of thirty-three. Paul, the youngest son, studied medicine, and became a physician of good reputation. His youngest child was Margaret. Of Paul and Margaret there is posterity living in our time. Martin never married, and Hans's only daughter died childless.

Besides these children we find in Luther's home many

of his nephews and nieces. As eleven of these had lost their parents, he brought them up as his own children.

Luther's love of children and his appreciation of their childish joys and ways is very beautifully shown in his letter to Hans. As this is without a doubt a classic piece of juvenile literature, we reproduce it here in whole as translated by Preserved Smith.

To Hans Luther at Wittenberg.

Castle Coburg, June 19, 1530.

Grace and peace in Christ, dear little son. I am glad to hear that you are studying and saying your prayers. Continue to do so, my son, and when I come home, I will bring you a pretty present.

I know a lovely, pleasant garden, where many children are; they wear golden jackets, and gather nice apples under the trees, and pears, and cherries, and purple plums, and yellow plums, and sing and run and jump, and are happy, and have pretty little ponies with golden reins and silver saddles. I asked the man who owned the garden whose children they were. He said, "They are the children who say their prayers, and study, and are good." Then said I, "Dear man, I also have a son, whose name is Hans Luther; may he come into the garden, and eat the sweet apples and pears, and ride a fine pony, and play with these children?" Then the man said, "If he says his prayers and is good, he can come into the garden, and Phil and Justy, too; and when they all come, they shall have whistles and drums and fifes, and dance, and shoot little cross-bows." Then he showed me a fine, large lawn in the garden for dancing, where hang real golden whistles and fine silver cross-bows. But it was yet early, and the children had not finished eating, and I could not wait to see them dance, so I said to the man, "My dear sir, I must go away and write at once to my dear little Hans about all this, so that he will say his prayers, and study, and be good, so that he may come into the garden. And he has an auntie, Lena, whom he must bring

with him." Then the man said, "All right, go and tell him about it." So, dear little Hans, study and say your prayers, and tell Phil and Justy to say their prayers and study, too, so you may all come into the garden together. God bless you. Give Auntie Lena my love and a kiss from me.

Your loving father,

MARTIN LUTHER.

Delightful were the social evenings, when Luther would forget all the worries of his labors, and the children would gather about their parents, together with the other members of the family. These evenings were spent with singing and cheerful talk. For one of the many happy Christmas evenings that the family spent together with Melanchthon and others Luther had composed our glorious Christmas song "From Heav'n Above to Earth I Come." Some days before he had been in deep meditation over this wonderful event, when his wife Kate had asked him to mind the baby a little, as it was impossible for her to attend to all her duties. Still having his mind on the Gospel story, he began to rock the cradle. The mechanical swing of the cradle went back and forth, while in his mind he saw the events of Bethlehem's field pass before it. The child rested quietly. It reminded him of the Child in the manger and the song of the angels. Unconsciously his musical nature was moved; he began to hum to the time of the swinging cradle; he finally began to sing, and his song was our well-known "From Heav'n Above to Earth I Come." On Christmas Eve he sang it to the children, and soon they, too, learned it, and all sang it to the glory of the new-born Babe, while Luther furnished the accompaniment to it on his lute.

Luther's parents often visited their famous son, but never lived with him. When they were very old, he wished to take them into his own home, and to repay them for what they had done for him during his childhood. However, they kept up their own home in Mansfeld. His father died while Luther was at the Castle Coburg, in 1530, and his mother

a year later. To each of them he sent a comforting letter before they died.

Among the many guests who enjoyed Luther's hospitality for a longer or shorter time were Johann Mathesius, Hieronymus Weller, Veit Dietrich, and G. Roerer. Mathesius was the first biographer of Luther. From the pulpit of his church in Joachimsthal he related the life of Luther as he had in part seen it lived, and as it had been told him by others who were near to Luther. Veit Dietrich was responsible for the written account of much of the "Table Talk," for he would often, even at the table, write down Luther's remarks. He also wrote down the sermons that Luther preached to his family when illness kept him out of the pulpit in church. Weller was tutor to little Hans.

It is strange to see how in our day Luther's glorious books and treatises are overlooked more or less (nearly always more by those not of the Lutheran faith), while his "Table Talk" is quoted as the book which really shows Luther up best. It is true, his conversation at table was free and unconcerned. It touches many and various topics. It is very interesting. It was rarely premeditated, and nearly always occasioned by some remark or question of one of his guests. It was not written by Luther, and never printed with his consent, but, as stated above, by those who heard him talk at table. He did, however, either during the meal or immediately after it, expound the Eighth and Twenty-third Psalms and also chapters 8 to 18 of Matthew, to assist Weller in his theological lectures. These expositions were later corrected by Luther and printed with his approval.

Luther's income never was large. As a monk he depended for his living on the resources of the convent. He refused to accept pay from his publishers, although they grew rich from the rapid sales of his books. His services to the university also were really gratis, as he did not collect the customary fees from his students. Neither did his position as city pastor bring him any fixed remuneration. The Elector of Saxony had at first given him a yearly compensation of

300 gulden, equal to from four to six times as much in our money. He also made him a present of the former convent, so that he might use it as his own private home. Later on Luther bought a little house near his home and three gardens, and in 1540 the little country estate of Zuelsdorf for 610 gulden. The convent, which had not been completely built up, he finished, and the city council sent him stone and lime for this purpose. The King of Denmark gave him an honorary salary of 50 gulden per annum during his last years. Some noblemen regularly sent him supplies for the table, and others gave him costly presents of goblets, chains, and rings. Luther estimated the value of these presents at 1,000 gulden. But as it was impossible for him to pay the entire purchase price for the Zuelsdorf property, he states in 1542 that he was indebted to the amount of 460 gulden. His income had in time increased, but so had also his expenses and his charities, and after his death Kate was obliged to take roomers and boarders to make her living. So Luther, while he probably had a chance to make a fortune, never did it. He was content to have his daily bread, and would not seek the wealth of this world. He was, first, last, and all the time, the servant of God, preaching the righteousness that avails before God.

Luther's family has ever been the ideal of the Evangelical Lutheran pastor's home. Since the Reformation the pastor has again become a man of family. He no longer lives in the seclusion of a wrongfully called higher state. He lives as other men. His family life is an example to his flock. In his family the Word of God rules. Christian conduct is observed, and Christian ideals followed both as to rearing and educating of children. The family learns and lives its faith, as it was done in Luther's family.

Luther's Successive Appeals.

THE MOST MOMENTOUS PERIOD OF LUTHER'S LIFE.
1517—1521.

(Reference, freely used: *Martin Luther; His Life and Works*, by Peter Bayne, Cassell & Co.)

REV. C. C. MORHART, Cleveland, O.

"There was a reformation in Luther, as well as a Reformation by Luther." When Luther published the theses, he was sure that he stood on the Bible and the ancient faith of the Church. He did not, however, see how much the Church had departed from the Bible and Christian truth. That knowledge came to him gradually during a period of conflict which ended only with his excommunication from the Church and the final emphatic refusal on his part to accept the authority of the pope or the authority of church-councils against the authority of the Scriptures.

Luther's conflict with human authority and his firm adherence to Scripture is most clearly seen in his successive appeals: 1. from indulgence-vender to the pope; 2. from the pope ill-informed to the pope better informed; 3. from the pope to the council; 4. from councils to Scriptures.

The celebrated Ninety-five Theses against the sale of indulgences had been nailed to the door of the Castle Church on the 31st day of October, 1517. That was the first great scene in Luther's life. In those theses, however, Luther did not doubt the pope's authority. In many of the theses he speaks, with indirect appeal, as the candid friend of the pope. "Christians are to be taught that the pope, if only he were acquainted with the cruel extortions of the indulgence-preachers, would rather that St. Peter's Church were burned to ashes than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep." Some of the queries, however, were quite pungent. "Why does not the pope release all souls from purgatory out of sheer impulse of thrice holy love? Is not this the most righteous of motives?" And this question still rings on. If the pope can release, why does he not release all souls from purgatory without money and without

price? Thus the theses spoiled Tetzel's trade, but nevertheless presumed that the pope's meaning was in accord with orthodox Catholic authorities.

Conflict, however, could not be avoided. The champions of the Church's forgiveness who were opposed to God's forgiveness rushed into the fray. The fiercest enemy, Dr. Eck, launched a book against Luther. All hope of peace within the Catholic Church was destroyed by the folly of its champions.

In self-defense, Luther prepared a treatise containing the theses and a commentary on them. This treatise was Luther's deliberate and respectful *appeal from indulgence-venders to the pope.* He was firmly convinced that, in essentials, the Church was on his side, and that he was entitled to friendly consideration by the pope. Therefore he also addressed a personal letter to the pope. The treatise itself was of comparatively slight moment, but the personal appeal deserves attention.

Luther begins the letter by observing that an evil report has been carried of him to the ears of Leo. He then lays before the pope a plain statement of what he has done. He had attacked the offensive and extravagant preaching of indulgences because it turned the authority of the Church into a scandal or a laughing-stock, and filled uninstructed minds with the most pernicious and impious errors. He had written privately to his superiors. Then the idea had occurred to him of publishing theses and challenging the evil in public debates. The manner in which the theses had spread abroad had been, he says, to him a perfect miracle. But what was now to be done? It was beyond his power to withdraw the theses from circulation. The best course seemed to be to put a supplementary comment upon the propositions, which he now placed before "the most blessed father." Those who had misunderstood him might now see how reverently he respected the authority of the Church and the power of the keys, how false had been the charges of heresy and rebellion hurled against him by his adversaries. In conclusion, as an expression of the affection with which, from

childhood, he had regarded the father of Christendom, he passionately declares his willingness to submit to the judgment of Leo as the voice of Christ ruling in him.

This celebrated letter of appeal has been variously interpreted. But it is certain that Luther never kept his promise to submit to the pope with implicit submission. Luther himself, in subsequent years, looked back with bitter self-reproach upon what he considered the besotted popery of the letter. He had taken it for granted that since the most majestic voices of the Church, such as St. Augustine and St. Bernard, spoke on his side, the pope would be in his favor. Instead of this, he found that the voice of Pope Leo was not the voice of God. His relation to the pope was that of a faithful officer to a traitorous commander. The pope had even condemned him before the treatise and the letter were issued.

When the thunderclap of the theses reached the ears of Pope Leo, one of his attendants, Prierias, probably directed by his master, at once wrote an answer to them. Luther mentions the performance as early as the 7th of January, 1518, but kept quiet. News of this attack was followed by the report that the pope had appointed Prierias and another person a commission to try Luther. Luther thereupon decided to deal with the reply. The champion of the pope had laid down, as one of the grand foundations of his argument, the following proposition: "Whosoever is not imbued with the doctrine of the Roman Church and the Roman pontiff, as the infallible rule of faith, from which even Holy Scripture draws its strength and authority, is a heretic." According to this, the Church of Rome and the pope take precedence of Scripture. Luther challenged the right of any man, or body of men, to exert authority over the Bible. Thus the Reformation introduced nothing new. Roman Catholics who claim that Protestantism must be wrong because it introduced something new cannot charge Luther's appeal to the original inspiration with introducing a newer thing than the Bible. The open Bible was the great principle restored to the world by Luther.

Justice required an impartial hearing and a fair trial. Here was a commission whose head had attacked Luther as a heretic, and which also cited him to appear at Rome within sixty days to take his trial. This flagrancy caused Luther to disregard both the court and the summons. His willingness to submit to the judgment of the pope could not include submission to such a judge. With prompt decision he took steps to secure that he be tried in Germany. This was effected by Frederick, the Electoral Prince of Saxony. The place was to be Augsburg; the judge, Cardinal Cajetan. But Luther refused to wait upon the cardinal until a safe-conduct was provided.

The discussions were destined to lead to a new appeal from the pope ill-informed to the pope better informed. At first the cardinal was disposed to dismiss Luther with smiles if only he would acknowledge the sanctity and authority of the pope and the Church, apologize for words rashly spoken, and permit himself to be muzzled. Luther, of course, was unmoved. He told the cardinal that he would gladly recant if his error were brought home to him. He maintained that the Church and the best Catholic authorities were on his side, and that it must be proved that they were against him. He declined to take the pope's personal word in place of proof from the Scripture. The cardinal, however, declined to enter upon any attempt to convince Luther that he had been in error, and simply insisted that Luther recant. But gradually he was drawn into an exchange of arguments. Why should not a mighty and learned cardinal grant a few words of irresistible logic to confound a puny monk? He condescended to show that the pope could grant indulgences because he had at his disposal a treasure of merit which could be dealt out, whether to living or to dead. Luther, however, was convinced that God alone could forgive sin, that the Church, exercising the power of the keys, could only recognize what God had done, and that a treasury of merit, distinct from the power of the keys, was a mere fiction. The only and infinite treasury is the treasury of Christ's merits. The blood of Christ, and not the fictitious treasury of the pope,

cleanseth us from all sin. In reply to this, the cardinal hit upon a short and easy method to silence Luther. "Pope Clement," he cried out, "had expressly declared that the merits of Christ were the treasure of indulgences." The debate, therefore, was at an end; he absolutely declined to have any more discussion on a matter which had been decided by a pope. When Luther continued to press for further hearing, the cardinal finally consented to grant Luther to reply in writing. But when Luther presented his defense of the doctrine of pardon by the grace of God, not by letter of papal indulgence, the cardinal fell back upon his position that Pope Clement had settled the matter. As often as Luther attempted to speak, the cardinal bellowed him down. What was Luther to do? Suddenly elevating his voice, he cried out with a vehemence that cowed his opponent enough to make him listen that, if Pope Clement could be shown to have meant the merits of Christ to be the treasure of indulgence, he, Luther, would recant.

The cardinal scarcely believed his ears. He soon broke out into ecstasy. Here is the book, then; here are the very words of Pope Clement; now subside, thou preposterous little hornet of a monk! Cajetan himself reads aloud, with exultation, the very words in which Pope Clement affirms that Christ by the merits of His Passion "acquired the treasure of indulgence." But Luther cried out at once: If Christ by the merits of His Passion acquired the treasure, then the merits could not be the treasure. The price of a thing and the thing itself were as distinct as any two things could be; the two were no more the same than a cardinal's hat and the price paid for it were the same; it was one thing to be a treasure, and another to acquire a treasure. The pope's treasure was not the treasure of Christ's merits; hence indulgences and their sale were not of Christ, but fictitious. The laugh was clearly upon the side of the little friar. At this pass the cardinal, having lost everything, also lost his temper, and told Luther to get out of his sight. And thus ended the second memorable scene in the life of Luther.—

On that same 14th day of October, 1518, Luther, under

the advice of shrewd lawyers, drew up a concise and energetic *appeal from the pope ill-informed to the pope to be better informed.* What Luther complained of was the cardinal's obstinate refusal to argue the question in dispute fairly on its merits. Towards the pope Luther had striven to maintain a sentiment of loyal hope.

On his homeward journey Luther received the copy of an order which the pope had sent to the cardinal, directing him to arrest Luther, and convey him to Rome as a heretic unless he recanted. It is not certain that the cardinal received the order before the meeting, but he certainly did not dare to carry it out. The pope had blundered again, as he had done when he at first had considered the theses a mere squabble among monks, and also when he delegated Prierias to meddle with the matter. Nor did better information change him.

The following events led to Luther's appeal from the pope to the council. The worsted cardinal proceeded to unfold all the resources of his anger. In a letter to the Elector Frederick he demanded that Luther be delivered up for transmission to Rome, or, at least, expelled from his country. This letter was forwarded by the Elector to Luther. In reply, Luther, having been asked to relinquish his errors, demanded to be illuminated as to what those errors were. The cardinal had mentioned that it was an error on the part of Luther to hold that the recipient of a sacrament must be a believer in the sacrament to be benefited by it. Luther stated that he could not yield on this point. For if the priest by his consecrating formula could make the sacrament an unfailing channel of salvation, regardless of the spiritual state of those who receive it, then salvation is of the priest, and the whole system of the Roman Catholic Church depends upon that. But if it is the grace of God, accepted by faith, which saves, by means of the sacrament or the Word, then Luther, to save his life, could not give up his position.

It is not surprising that new and terrible thoughts were crowding upon Luther. He was amazed that such men as Pope Leo and his followers should rule the Church. Already

he suspected the pope of being the Antichrist foretold by the Scriptures. There were indications that the pope would try to kill him. The appeals had been futile. Therefore Luther resolved not to place himself in the pope's power. To secure the legality of his position he drew up an *appeal to a council.* The points involved were points which concerned the whole Church; the Church therefore should speak through its representatives at a free and general council. — But that, too, was not to be.

The friends of Luther now entreated him to refrain from publishing accounts of his interviews with Cajetan, or his appeal to a council, or any other document likely to cause trouble with Rome. But Luther tells his friend Spalatin frankly that if he remains in Wittenberg, he will insist upon liberty of speech and writing. Thus Luther stood for the great modern principles of free speech and a free press. Luther also believed in the separation of Church and State, and never relied on the power of his political friends. These friends, however, helped him with magnanimous forbearance.

When the Elector Frederick received Luther's masterly reply to Cajetan's letter in the form of a letter, the prince himself wrote a memorable letter to Cajetan, to be forwarded with Luther's reply. In it the Elector tells Cajetan that Luther had been sent to Augsburg to receive a hearing, according to Cajetan's own promise, and not a mere command to retract. Frederick cannot possibly take Luther's heresy for granted, or treat him as a heretic unless he is proved to be one. Others also were disposed to doubt whether Luther's doctrine was indeed heretical. He therefore had sent Cajetan's letter to Luther, and now enclosed the reply. Frederick, supported by public opinion, was convinced that he could not do wrong in letting the Bible be seen by its own light. If the Elector had not taken this position, the main current of modern history might have flowed in a different channel.

Cajetan having failed, the pope appointed Charles von Miltitz, a German gentleman resident in Rome, to solve the Luther problem. This new envoy proceeded to Germany,

and had several unsuccessful interviews with Luther. His conduct was irreproachable; but Luther never changed his belief that the mission was hollow. The messages from Rome were too murderously severe, the professions of Miltitz were too friendly. The envoy, however, repudiated Tetzel, and acknowledged that, in the matter of indulgences, Luther had been in the right. The negotiations ended in an arrangement that Luther should have his case decided by the bishop of Salzburg, and that, in the mean time, he should suspend his opposition if the attacks against him were also suspended.

There was, however, no suspension of controversy. It was inevitable that there should be a reaction against the onward impulse communicated by Luther. The first shock between reform and reaction was the Leipzig disputation. The combat was to be between Eck and Carlstadt, but since Eck in writing aimed his thrusts at Luther and not against Carlstadt, Luther determined to take part in the argumentation on the side of Carlstadt. His inquiry into the origin and grounds of the pope's power had led him to conclude that the Church of Rome had no divine right to superiority over other churches. Although he had no objection to admit a primacy of the pope under certain qualifications, he divined that the pope who reigned in the Roman court was the true Antichrist. Thus the question between Luther and Eck was the question of the pope and the Church. The shrewdest Romanists, however, convinced that their best policy was silence, disapproved of the discussion.

The disputation at Leipzig began on the 27th of June, 1519, and, like the theses and the appearance before Cajetan, constituted a memorable scene in the life of Luther. Eck defended the portentous error, which had for a thousand years kept the mind of Europe in thraldom, that the pope was the successor of St. Peter, upon whom Christ Himself had, in words recorded by St. Matthew, conferred the primacy of the Church, the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The pope, like Christ, must therefore be king over the kings of the world. All who refuse to submit to him pass beyond the pale of salvation. And this view, he averred, was supported

during many ages by a procession of illustrious fathers and divines. Against this, Luther contended that Christ governs now, and is the sole King of the Church, who has not delegated His divine right to any man, any church, or any aggregate of churches. But this does not exclude church-government, or unity, or order and regulation, or natural leadership. The principles of church-government exclude lordship, and include the spiritual equality of Christians. The Church of Rome might, however, by human right, in virtue of a natural qualification, conduct the administration of the whole in virtue of a natural qualification, as the church at Jerusalem at first had held the lead because it possessed the most eminent men and rendered the most excellent service. A fixed papacy was not Christ's conception of the kingdom of heaven. And thus the Protestant Church to-day recognizes no lordship in the Church, neither papal nor Lutheran. Lordship in the Church is Romanism.

A new turn to the debate was given by Luther's view that men are free to proclaim the Gospel according to the light of conscience and of the Bible. This was a view that had been held by some whom fervent papists looked upon as heretics. Accordingly, Eck, as Cajetan had done, took a new departure, and blandly inquired if this view did not bring Luther into association with the heretics of Bohemia. Luther felt the blow. He refused to be identified with the Bohemians, but added that among the articles of Hus were "many whose character was plainly and superlatively Christian." The assemblage held its breath. "That is insanity!" exclaimed Duke George of Saxony. Hus had died by fire as an enemy of God and man; it was the Council of Constance that had sent him to the stake. It seemed plain that Luther must be a patron of heresy and anarchy. Eck, having the advantage of being on the popular side, denounced as damnable the teaching of Hus and Wyclif, that acceptance of Roman supremacy was not necessary to salvation. It became plain that the stormy discussion could lead to no agreement. Luther had not yet learned by sad experience how hard men are to convince, how difficult to teach.

The Leipzig disputation was a landmark in the history of the Reformation because it afforded Luther occasion for the clear statement of his view of the Church. It can easily be seen that Luther's scheme of the Church was that of the New Testament. The disputation is also notable on account of Luther's first public recognition of Hus as forerunner. In speaking a clear, bold word for Hus, Luther struck at council as well as pope, virtually denying infallibility to both, virtually asserting that there is, from both, an *appeal to the court of conscience and the Word of God.* The debate also impelled Luther into more thoroughgoing opposition to the pope. He began to see that it was not practicable for him to work within the Roman Church as an advocate of freedom and the Bible, and that it was his duty to assail Babylon from without. The right of private judgment, that great principle established again by Luther, was ever firmly maintained by him even to a break with Rome.

Luther's new attitude toward Rome was revealed in the publication of his Address to the Nobles and People of Germany. This address, if weighed in the scales of reason, would overbalance that of many a famous battle. At the outset he breaks down three rampart walls of Rome. The first is the claim of the pope and his priests to a superiority of the body of Christians. The second is the claim of the pope to interpret Scripture and rule in its name. The third is the claim of the pope that all proceedings with a view to reform are wrong unless they are initiated by him. Then he states the work a general council should undertake. In turn he then treats of papal pretenses, celibacy of the clergy, mechanical prayers, and church-festivals, miracle-shrines, papal dispensations, Antichrist, heretics, and death by fire, university reform and Aristotle, economical matters, agriculture and trade, gorging and guzzling, the social evil, — closing words. From this publication may be dated the commencement of that sovereignty over the hearts and minds of his countrymen which Luther has always held. Luther became the educator of the masses and eventually the founder

of the present public school system, — another great modern principle.

The opposition of the papal party now reached a climax. Eck, Luther's antagonist at Leipzig, had, in his fury, gone to Rome, and raised all the powers of the abyss. Finally, the pope issued the world-famous bull of excommunication. Luther quickly made up his mind concerning it, for he perceived that it condemned Christ. He was, at last, "quite certain that the pope is Antichrist, and that the modern seat of Satan has been found." The bull condemned forty-one propositions representing Luther's views. Luther was charged with heresy for denying that the Church of Rome had been appointed by Christ to take precedence of all other churches till the end of time in virtue of His gift to Peter. It was called heresy to say that a pope has ever been in error. One of the heresies with which Luther was charged possesses unusual interest for the modern world. The thirty-third heresy of Luther is that he said: "To burn heretics is against the will of God." For twelve hundred years the Church and the State had burned heretics. The proposal to repeal this law was now placed on the roll of Luther's infamies. But this repeal advocated by Luther is the charter of intellectual and moral freedom for the world, and must ever be remembered in Luther's praise. And Luther very fittingly answered the bull, not by burning papists, but by burning the paper.

The area of conflict between Luther and Rome grew constantly wider, and now whole nations were involved. But Luther ever remained averse to the introduction of physical force into the Lord's battle. He had appealed in vain to men; there was, however, no appeal to arms. Never for a moment did he forget that the weapons of Christian force are spiritual. Nor could Luther own the authority of any earthly power to dictate law to conscience contrary to the great principles of freedom of conscience and the right of private judgment. He set forth the Bible as the only authority in matters of faith, and unswervingly refused to recognize any other authority. Luther's position is clearly stated in a letter: "By the Word has the world been conquered; by the Word

has the Church been preserved; by the Word will her breaches be repaired. And Antichrist, as he began without hand, so he will perish without hand, by the Word alone." He therefore demanded that his cause should be judged solely by Scripture. "Scripture," he said, in effect, "is the law of heresy for Christendom. Convince me out of Scripture or by irresistible reasons that my doctrines are heretical. Then, and only then, I will recant them." Luther's constant and absolute appeal was to the Scriptures.

The final test of Luther's Scriptural position in regard to Rome came at the Diet of Worms, April 18, 1521. This scene is a separate chapter. When Luther appeared at the diet, he profoundly distrusted the professions of the papal party on the subject of free grace. He was unalterably convinced that, apart from all doctrinal considerations, the yoke of the papacy ought to be broken from the neck of Christendom. He had absolutely no doubt that the claim of the Roman see to declare the meaning of Scripture, and to exercise dominion of the human spirit, was contrary to the purpose of Christ, and of deadly influence upon mankind. He knew also that the councils had erred. He could, therefore, not concede that there is upon earth any person, church, tribunal, court, or conclave which can infallibly define truth. Therefore Luther declined to recant unless he were refuted by the testimony of Holy Writ, and his conscience placed in harmony with the Word of God. He would not do aught against conscience.

Thus Luther stood on the open Bible and freedom of conscience — the greatest of all religious principles. And thus closed the grandest scene in Luther's life. Thenceforth, in the providence of God, the Bible was to rule supreme. And thus the world to-day, four hundred years after the beginning of the Reformation, still enjoys the blessings which it gave: freedom of speech, a free press, education for the masses, the separation of Church and State, the right of private judgment, and an open Bible.

Luther at Worms.

Rev. W. Broecker, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Since the days of the apostles the fate of the Church never hung so dangerously in the balance as at the Diet of Worms, and never a man in all those fifteen centuries, before the Diet at Worms, swung the balance at the psychological moment so decisively for the salvation of the Church as, by the infinite grace of God, did Luther.

Great, indeed, were Athanasius and Augustine. Yet what these and other early champions of the faith stood for were, in the main, but single doctrines in the structure of the Christian religion. Orthodox Christendom yet accepted with one accord the verdict of the Scriptures, and acknowledged, with Athanasius, Jesus Christ the true Son, begotten of the Father from eternity, and rallied around the standard of free grace raised by Augustine.

But when God sent Luther, what were the conditions in the Church? What as to grace? Aye, grace there was, but not God's free grace in Jesus Christ, — grace, not God-made, by the blood of His Son, but man-made grace, made by that "man of sin," drunken with the blood of the saints; grace by fasting, by prayers to the saints, measured by the rosary; grace by pilgrimages to holy places, — and what not? Yes, even grace to the amount that your purse could stand the tax the hawkers demanded for indulgences. Grace it was by the grace of the Roman pontiff.

However, not only had God's free grace been supplanted by papal grace, Christ Himself was dethroned, as far as His Church on earth was concerned. In His place had risen the usurper claiming to be the vicar of Christ. That "man of sin" had truly come, whom, prophesying, St. Paul had fully described 2 Thess. 2, 3. 4. As God on earth he ruled. The nations were shackled with Rome's endless chain of ecclesiastical laws and rules, impositions and taxes. The pope's menials were ubiquitous. Like locusts his "spiritual" agents fell upon a country, devouring it and leaving nothing behind but filthy indulgences. The confessional was the chamber of

horrors, in which all, regardless of station or rank, were subdued to the will of Rome. Hypocrisy and intrigue held high carnival. Kings and princes were set up or removed at will, murder and treason being no obstacle. And nowhere did vice in its blackest and most nauseating forms welter and wallow in such orgies as it did in the very courts of the "holy city." This is but stating the simple, though soul-distressing facts of history.

We ask, How could this terrible state of affairs come about? There is but one answer. The very foundation upon which alone Christ has founded His throne in the Church, and upon which alone rests man's salvation, the Word of God, had been assailed, set at naught, destroyed, and supplanted. Since the sixth century the voice of God had begun to grow fainter and fainter, till it was finally completely hushed. God's temple now echoed with a tumultuous din of voices from councils, church-fathers, and scholastics. And above all this confusion of contradicting, struggling, battling was heard the roar of Rome. Having throttled the Word of God, the pope had succeeded in making his word the supreme law in Christendom. Christ no longer spoke to His Church but through His vicar. True, the dogma of the infallibility of the pope had as yet not been decreed, — that was left for these latter days. But practically the pope's word was accepted by the masses as the infallible Word of Christ. That was the claim: As the pope spoke, so spoke Christ. Hence, also the demand that all matters of Church and State be subjected to his review, and be determined by his decision. There was no higher tribunal for appeal. Woe to the recalcitrant offender! Ban, interdict, death, was Rome's vengeance. We need but remember Hus and Savonarola, the Waldenses and the Wyclifites.

After this brief review we understand the true significance of Luther's trial at Worms. For, in reality, in Luther at Worms the Word of God was on trial; hence, Luther's victory was the victory of the Word of God. Let us see for ourselves.

The diet constituted the council of the holy Roman

Empire. Charles V, the youthful king of Spain, had but recently been elected emperor, chiefly through the influence of the aged Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. For reasons brought to bear on him, he convoked his first diet at Worms, Germany, for January 28, 1521. At Worms there were assembled the dignitaries not only of the State, but also those of the Church: electors, princes, and estates, cardinals, archbishops, and other ecclesiastical representatives. Leo X was represented by a special legate, Aleander. The diet, however, was anything but a harmonious body. From time immemorial there had been a deep cleavage between the secular and ecclesiastical forces, each striving for supremacy. Yet each was a willing tool of the other when they believed their own interests best served. Hence, distrust, hypocrisy, and intrigue stamped every dealing between pope and emperor. Naturally, Church and State suffered alike, with this distinction, however, that the true Church of Jesus Christ had become the football of both, pope and emperor.

It was not different at Worms. We behold there pope and emperor each constantly veering and steering for the best wind to gain advantage over the other. Among the many vexing questions demanding immediate attention from that diet was the one raised by the monk of Wittenberg, Dr. Martin Luther. In reality it was no longer a question, but a condition. A grave state of affairs throughout Germany, yea, throughout Christian Europe, had resulted from the single-handed doings of this Augustinian, professor at the Wittenberg University and pastor of the Castle Church. True, humanly speaking, Rome had nothing to fear from the monk. Had he not until now been a most abjectly dutiful son of the "Holy Father"? Was not the very fact of his devout obedience to the Church the very reason of his quick promotions in holy orders, even to the forcing upon him of the degree of a Doctor of Divinity, and thus exacting from him the oath to teach God's Word only, and to defend it against all heresies? And even when posting those memorable Ninety-five Theses against Tetzel's shameful hawking of indulgences, he never dreamed that the pope could or

would countenance this disgraceful soul-trading business. Rome treated the matter lightly. But Luther's leaven was working, and Tetzel was forced to decamp. The pope sent Cajetan to subdue the obstreperous monk, and to bring him in irons to Rome. But, vanquished, the cardinal desisted. Rome's ire was rising, for it began to suspicion the possibilities of the strife. Rome's prestige was suffering. Luther must be quieted. But how? The glib papal chamberlain, Charles von Miltitz, was sent, — but for naught. Popedom's greatest champion, Dr. Eck, threw his gage into the arena, — but Eck gathered no laurels. Luther's subsequent book on "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church" completely unmasked the abominations of popery. Rome roared. It hurled the ban against Luther. Luther defied the pope, publicly burned the papal bull excommunicating him, and declared the pope to be the very Antichrist. — Since that 31st of October, 1517, momentous events had crowded each other. European Christendom had become a seething caldron, with Germany as a center. High and low, princes and ecclesiastics, burghers and peasants, had caught the new spirit, which foreshadowed the long looked-for reformation of the head and members of the Church. They recognized in Luther's battle their own battle, in Luther's fate either the freedom from, or an increased papal prostitution of, the Church.

What was it that caused this tremendous upheaval? It was, forsooth, not the man Luther, poor Augustinian that he was. It was that which he stood for — *it was the Word of God.* That Word it was of which Rome had robbed God's people, but which God's grace put into Luther's hand when his soul was verging on utter despair because of his salvation; the Word in which his whole being became wrapped up, and which, therefore, his students and his parishioners must hear; the Word at the head of his Ninety-five Theses against Tetzel, saying, "When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ says"; the Word for which, again, he demanded from Cajetan and Miltitz free course, without interference from man-made laws; the Word with which popes and councils,

as he showed to the chagrin of the learned Eck, ever had been at variance, and which smashes the pope's claim of a primate when it declares, "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren" (Matt. 23, 8); the Word with which Luther was breaking with sledge-hammer blows the chains shackling the Church, in treatises like "The Liberty of a Christian" and "To the Christian Nobility"; the Word whose full light he turned upon the infernal institution of auricular confession and upon the diabolical idolatry of the Mass, looming between them appearing the unmistakable image of the accursed Antichrist, the pope of Rome; the Word for whose vindication Luther, on December 10, 1520, cast the papal bull into the fire and his own defy into Rome's face. That Word of God it was in which was the beginning, middle, and end of Luther's whole work; the impregnable citadel, in which he had fortified himself; the sole weapon he wielded, both in the offensive and in the defensive. —

The diet was convened. What was to be done with Luther? What about his movement for reformation? These had now come to be the all-determining questions. The outlook was not very propitious, indeed, and the final outcome was: Rome's failure to know the time of its visitation. As to Luther, he hailed with joy the great opportunity to let his Lord and Master Jesus Christ be heard before so representative a body. Thousands would hear, and return home with the tidings of the new Gospel. However, many an obstacle had first to be overcome before Luther could personally appear, and plead his cause before the diet. Rome was obstinately opposed to giving the "heretic" a public hearing. Rome is *semper eadem,* always the same, also in this that she loves to work in the dark. Time and again, by citing him to Rome, by commissioning Cajetan, then Miltitz, by repeatedly importuning Frederick the Wise, and lastly, by calling the emperor to her aid, she sought possession of Luther's person, in order to deal with him as she had dealt with so many other witnesses of the truth. Charles V, devout Catholic and pliable as he was, here showed the weakness of

his character. He constantly was vacillating between self-assertion and fear of Rome. As for him, the pope would have made short work of the monk. But God had also among the great of this world His protector over His servant Luther. This protector was the very Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony. He would permit no harm to come to his Dr. Martin. For this reason his memory stands out in bold relief beside that of Luther in every true history of the Reformation. He forbade Luther to obey the summons to appear at Rome. He, in company with other German estates, staunchly demanded that Luther be heard personally, and that, as a German subject, he be heard on German soil, in public trial. Moreover, remembering the fate of John Hus a century ago, Frederick and the German estates would not have Luther face the dangers at Worms unless he be given an imperial safe-conduct both ways, to Worms and back home. And forced to acknowledge the justice of the demands, Charles V granted all, much to the mortification of the pope.

Thus Luther was summoned to appear, within twenty-one days, for trial at Worms, no later than April 16. Would he go? Indeed he would; but not to recant; this he might just as well do at Wittenberg. And go he did. On April 2d he started in company with several friends, the imperial herald in the fore, on what was more like the triumphal procession of a victor than the portentous journey of an already condemned heretic. The papal representatives at Worms took fright. More than ever they determined to hinder the public trial. Once more they put all their power in motion to keep the Reformer out of Worms, or to undo the safeguard. The friends of Luther feared for his safety. The man of God, however, continued undaunted on his way; and to his friends he wrote: "If there be as many devils in Worms as tiles on the roofs, yet will I enter." And April 16, at ten o'clock in the morning, he entered amid a great concourse of people.

And now for the trial. It was set for the evening of the next day, April 17. What was Luther to be tried for? Through friends he had an intimation that the trial was

to narrow down to three points, to-wit, the papal abuses, the authority of councils, and the primate of the pope, — all of which he had so valiantly attacked. Luther also knew full well that nothing but a recantation would satisfy his enemies. The very citation to Worms had told him so. He came prepared to make answer to the charges. — But how was the trial to be conducted? Since they had been unable to prevent Luther from personally appearing before the diet, the papal cravens had agreed on a plan. Luther, already banned and branded a heretic, must be given the least possible opportunity to speak. No open debate with him must take place. No other privilege must be accorded him but to recant. With their wonted impudence they also considered it beneath their dignity to acquaint the accused with the exact mode of procedure. And purposely, to allow as little time as possible for the trial, the hearing was set for the evening.

The supreme hour in the life of Luther, indeed, for the Reformation itself, was fast drawing near. Four o'clock found him, surrounded by men from all walks in life, in the antechamber of the assembly-room of the diet. Finally, after two hours of waiting, at six o'clock, he was called into the presence of the diet. For counsel his colleague Jerome Schurf had been delegated by his elector. Without much ado the official of the Archbishop of Treves, Eck, acting for the emperor, put to him two questions: 1. Whether he acknowledged these books (on a bench beside him) to be his books; 2. whether he would retract their contents, or persist in them. Immediately Counsel Schurf interposed, and, as a precaution, demanded first the reading of the titles of the books. Eck complied, and among others also gave the titles of writings which had never been objected to.

Unprepared though he was for this procedure, Luther yet answered, in both Latin and German: 1. As to the books bearing his name, he acknowledged them to be his, and could not deny any of them. 2. As to his declaring, however, whether he was ready to defend or to recant everything, — this being a question of the faith and of the salvation of

the souls, involving the Word of God, the highest and greatest treasure in heaven and earth, to be held in all honor, indeed, by us, — it would be arrogant and dangerous for him to declare anything rashly, as he might indiscreetly and without due thought assert and state as true either less than the case demanded, or more than would conform with the truth, both subjecting him to the judgment of Christ: "Whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father which is in heaven." "Therefore, I most obediently and most humbly pray your Imperial Majesty for time for consideration, in order that I may, without injury to the Word of God, and without jeopardizing my soul's salvation, give a correct answer to the questions laid before me."

Thus Luther. A consultation of the emperor and the princes resulted in the granting of his petition, though Eck must reprimand him for wanting more time. The next day he was to make his declaration, not, however, in writing, but by word of mouth.

On April 18th the excitement was intenser and suspense at a higher pitch than ever during this whole period of world-unrest. What would Luther's answer be to emperor and pope? — As on the preceding day, Luther found himself waiting from four to six o'clock before he was admitted into the presence of the assembly. Eck again opened the trial, upbraiding Luther with inexcusable dilatoriness in giving full account, and then put the question left unanswered the day before, but in a somewhat modified form: "Wilt thou defend all the books acknowledged by thee to be thine, or at least recant in part?" The question was clear-cut, and understood by all because put in both languages. And Luther? Modestly, yet firmly, not overloud, but distinctly understood by all, he, in a well-considered speech, again acknowledged the books laid before him the day before as his own, guarding himself, however, against any unauthorized, surreptitious alterations, and admitting to no one but himself the right to interpret his writings. As to recanting, — the second question, — he begged them to consider that his books were not all of one kind. He divided them

into three classes. In the first class of his books he had taught the Christian faith and good works in so simple and Christian a manner that even his adversaries must acknowledge them as profitable and worthy. How dare he recant these without condemning the truth accepted by friend and foe? — As to the second class of his books, he had therein attacked the papacy and the doctrine of papists, who with false doctrine, vicious life, and offensive example had devastated Christendom in body and soul. None could deny that the laws and doctrines of the pope had ensnared, burdened, and tortured the consciences of the faithful, and by unbelievable tyranny had drained the German nation, and was still devouring it; and all this in opposition to their own decrees, which nullified the pope's laws and doctrines found at variance with the Gospel. How could he recant these books without opening the gates wide to a more devastating flood of rascality, and subjecting himself to the charge of having done so at the command of the emperor and of the whole empire? "Good God, what a cloak of rascality and tyranny would I then be!" Luther exclaimed. — In the third class of his books he had written against individuals who had shielded and defended the Roman tyranny, and had falsified and suppressed the divine doctrine taught by him. Here he candidly confessed to having been somewhat more vehement and severe than was befitting religion and profession; but he was not a saint, nor arguing his personal life, but about the doctrine of Christ. Hence, he could neither retract these books, because thereby it would come to pass that with his consent tyranny and godlessness would again rule and prevail and rage against God's people more violently and more terribly than ever before. He, being a mere man and not God, however, could not defend his books otherwise than did his Lord and Savior His doctrine, who answered His tormentor: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil." If the infallible Lord was willing to hear witness against His doctrine, how much more ought he, who so easily may err, be ready to do so, and invite whomsoever would to bear witness against his teachings. "Therefore,"

he proceeded, "I beg through the mercy of God your Imperial Majesty, etc., or whosoever can do it, of high or low station, to bear witness to convince me with prophetic and apostolic scriptures that I have erred. Then, being convinced thereof, I will be most willing and ready to recant every error, and will be the first to cast my booklets into the fire." Thus, he continued, having taken due consideration also of the great disturbance attributed to him, it, nevertheless, gave him joy to see the Word of God taking its course according to Christ's saying: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father," etc. (Matt. 10, 34. 35.) And now he closed with an earnest appeal to the emperor and the diet not to reject or persecute the Word of God for the sake of promoting peace in the empire. Awful, indeed, would it be if the young emperor thus began his reign, because that would determine also its whole course. For God "taketh the wise in their own craftiness"; He "removeth the mountains, and they know not." (Job 5, 13; 9, 5.) This, he adds, is not meant as though they not already knew these things, but because of his sense of his bounden duty to the German nation, to his fatherland.

Thus spake Luther in German and in Latin. The papists at first were stupefied. Because he had asked for time, some had hoped he would recant. Now this defy! Agitated, the imperial speaker reproved him for not having spoken to the point. Besides, said he, nothing was to be questioned or disputed that councils had already defined, concluded, and condemned; it was demanded of him to give a simple, round, and true answer whether he would say "Revoco" (I recant) or not.

Luther replied: *"Since your Imperial Majesty, Electoral and Princely Graces demand a simple, artless, true answer, I will give one which shall have neither horns nor teeth: Unless I be overcome and convinced by proofs of the Holy Scriptures or by manifestly clear grounds and reasons,— for I believe neither the pope nor the councils alone, because it is an open and known fact that they have often erred and*

opposed each other, — and I am convinced by those passages adduced and introduced by me, and my conscience is bound in God's Word, I can or will recant nothing, since it is neither safe nor advisable to do aught against conscience. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise. God help me! Amen."

The die was cast! The answer upon which hung the whole work of the Reformation was given. It was: Not the pope, not even church councils, but God's Word alone must bind the individual conscience, must alone decide all questions of faith and life in the Church. In vain Eck raved for the authority and inerrancy of councils; Luther offered proof of error. In vain for a whole week the powerful in Church and State, in private and public conferences, endeavored to overwhelm the Reformer with their arguments, with cunning, and with open threats. In vain they sought his promise to submit to a council which was to be called. Luther's one answer to all arguments and to all propositions was: "Rather will I lose life and limb than surrender God's true and clear Word." As to the outcome of the whole movement, he told the Archbishop of Treves to look to Gamaliel's answer: "If this counsel or work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it." (Acts 5, 38. 39.)

To the emperor, who in high wrath declared himself about to carry out the pope's bull, and commanded him to betake himself under the imperial safe-conduct homeward within twenty-one days, refraining from preaching or writing on his journey, Luther sent humble thanks for the safe-conduct, and assured him that in all his undertakings he had sought nothing but a reformation according to the Word of God; excepting this, he was willing to sacrifice life and all for his country.

Thus he left Worms Friday, April 26. The trial was over; Luther stood condemned before the diet. In reality it was the Word of God which had been condemned. That they did not spill Luther's blood was not because they did not fully and earnestly desire to do so.

What was the immediate impression of the trial? Many were won over to Luther and his cause. The emperor, however, declared: "He shall not make a heretic of me." The papists were incensed because Luther had been permitted the liberty of so comprehensive an answer. They importuned the emperor to break the safe-conduct, and to execute the heretic on the spot. But the emperor would have none of that; German truthfulness and fidelity forbade. However, on May 26 he outlawed the Augustinian.

Among Luther's friends there was great rejoicing. No one was more jubilant than Luther's elector, Frederick the Wise. He exclaimed: "Ah, how fine did Brother Martin show himself! What an excellent speech both in German and in Latin did he deliver before the emperor and all the estates! He was too bold for me." When the tidings of Luther's bold stand at Worms spread, prayers and hymns of thanks and praise went up to the Lord, who had given His servant courage and boldness to stand unwavering in the hottest of the battle against the hosts of darkness, to gain the victory for the Word of God. To the friends of the new cause the hammer-strokes fastening the Ninety-five Theses at Wittenberg had been like the touching of the single key-notes in the simple, sweet melody of the old Gospel; but the melody had developed into a fugue, and now, at Worms, the powerful finale was opening up the grand organ of God's Word, drowning out the discords pope and council had introduced into the divine harmony of God's Temple.

And to-day? Next to God's almighty grace, it is due to Luther's firm stand in the Diet at Worms that we even yet triumph with him, "The Word they still shall let remain!" For that was, indeed, the crucial test for the man and his work. We shudder at the very thought that Luther might have wavered, that fear for his person or a sense of his personal unfitness to guide the ship in the tremendous revolution which must surely follow, if his principles prevailed, or the alluring promises of the Romanists, might have induced him to change his course and to sacrifice the principle of the

Word. Luther himself foresaw and courageously sounded the warning against the then inevitable dire consequences. Rome's hatred, born of the failure of the attempted reformation, would only have, if possible, intensified the already well-nigh insuperable papal tyranny over the consciences, over the Church, over the nations.

God, in His great mercy, willed otherwise. His Word was again to come into its own. Luther was His instrument in bringing it back. Luther at Worms signifies the open Bible to the world. The work of the Reformation had passed its crisis. Like an avalanche it rushed onward crushing whatever Pope or Emperor would cast in its way. Rome's dam restraining the Water of Life was broken, and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, once again released, poured forth to work the miracle of salvation for hundreds, for millions. Twelve years after the days at Worms, Luther, reviewing the progress of the Word, was constrained to declare that such great things had been done by the power of God as no man could have either imagined or expected.

And to-day? The open Bible, or "So speaks our Lord Jesus Christ," — that is the last decision in matters of conscience acknowledged in Christendom the world over. Church and State alike are reaping the fruits of *Luther's Reformation through the Word.* None more so, however, than we, who are of the true Church named for the Reformer. We, therefore, of the true Evangelical Lutheran Church before others justly commemorate this quadricentennial of the Reformation. With fervent thanks to God for Luther, His instrument, we erect to the memory of the champion of the Word at Worms a monument, not of marble, not of brass, but of hearts bearing this inscription:

God's Word and Luther's doctrine pure
Shall to eternity endure.

Luther and Erasmus.

MARTIN WALKER, A. M.

It is a fact little known that less than two months before nailing his celebrated Ninety-five Theses to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, Luther had framed ninety-seven theses against the scholastic theology, in which he disputed the wisdom of retaining the works of Aristotle as text-books. And it throws an interesting light on Luther's mind in 1517, that whilst he did not consider the indulgence-theses of October 31st worth publishing, he had published the earlier theses and had sent copies to his former professors at Erfurt as well as to some humanistically inclined friends. But even in these earlier theses Luther's theology is already quite well defined. He dislikes Aristotle because his code of ethics is "the worst enemy of grace" (Thesis 41). He champions Augustine *versus* Pelagius and declares (Thesis 4): "It is the truth that man has become a corrupt tree, and can will and do only that which is evil." — "It is false that free will can accomplish anything in either direction (good or bad); moreover, the will is not free, but bound." (Thesis 5.) — "The best and unfailing preparation and the only qualification for grace is the eternal election and foreknowledge of God." (Thesis 29.) — "On the part of man nothing precedes grace but inability, yea, rebellion against grace." (Thesis 30.)

It shows us Luther in his true spiritual greatness when we find him disdaining the championship of the Humanists, these knights of the pen, — which proverbially is mightier than the sword, — even as he refused the proffered support of Sickingen and other knights of the sword. For this aloofness of Luther from those who would be friends was not the result of some cold, calculating policy. It was the inevitable expression of his innermost convictions. Whilst the literary men would claim him as of their own spirit in their demand for "free thought," for freedom of conscience, of speech and writing, they were not with him in bowing to the supreme authority of Holy Scriptures. Whilst the knights fought

for liberty, they were little interested in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. Luther saw all this. In neither party did he find that faith which is the victory that overcometh the world. Rather, then, would he fight his battles alone. His conscience was bound in God's Word; faith in Christ was his impelling motive; trust in God was his reliance. God was his refuge and strength.

An English historian has very correctly observed that Luther's "very imperviousness to the intellectual, liberalizing tendencies of Humanism made him all the more fit to be a trusted leader." (Lindsay.) How differently Luther's course would have shaped itself had he been under the influence of Erasmus and the Humanists, or had he compromised with them, can be clearly seen in the life and reformatory method of Zwingli. The Swiss reformer had been under the influence of Humanism from his boyhood. In the formative period of his life he was strongly influenced by Erasmus. From him he borrowed his rationalistic theory of the Lord's Supper. This theory, moreover, was merely typical of his attitude in general to the Holy Scriptures and to all articles of faith; this whole attitude was Erasmian. Luther well recognized this in the Marburg Colloquy of 1529 when he spoke those memorable words to Zwingli and his *confrères:* "You have a different spirit." And that different spirit obtains to this day in the Churches that have followed the lead of Zwingli (the so-called Reformed group of sects) as compared with the Lutheran Church. It is not too much to say that, had Luther been influenced by Erasmus and other Humanists, or had he, for the sake of peaceful cooperation, made concessions to them, the Lutheran Reformation of the Church would never have come to pass.

The relation of Luther to Erasmus, and the controversy between the two, calls for extended notice.

Desiderius Erasmus was born in Rotterdam, probably in 1467. He was thus about sixteen years older than Luther. Forced into a monastery when a lad, he managed to leave it at the age of twenty, retaining a loathing of the monastic life. He studied at Cologne and Paris, and later traveled

considerably, residing for varying periods at Paris, at Louvain, in England, in Italy, at Basel and at Freiburg im Breisgau. He was truly cosmopolitan. In England he met and made friends of the Christian Humanists John Colet and Thomas More. But he and Luther never met, knowing each other only through correspondence and from each other's writings. Erasmus never held any official position. He was simply a man of letters, and, as the trade of literature was not a paying one, he was dependent on pensions from King Henry VIII of England and other princes. He was the universally acknowledged prince among the Humanists, the Voltaire of his day.

Together with other scholars of his time he bemoaned the evil condition of the Church. He decried not only the profligate life of the clergy, but equally so the popular confidence in mere outward religious acts and ceremonies. But his conception of a reformation was rather a renovation of morals than a purification from unscriptural teaching. Nevertheless, when he sent forth his first edition of the New Testament, he wrote in the introduction that he wished that women as well as men might read the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul; that the peasant in the field, the artisan in the shop, and the traveler on the highway should employ their time by reading from the Bible. He had a firm belief in the power of knowledge and enlightenment. He hoped for a peaceful reformation; he hated what he called "tumult." He could not bear the thought of a religious war. He lacked every quality that makes the hero. He feared to commit himself on any great question. Any expression of opinion was usually so qualified that, if need arose, he might change or even deny it. Letters written at the same time, but to different parties, express contradictory opinions, and usually contain cautionary remarks, such as: "With your usual prudence you will show this to no one." His biographers confess that it is hopeless to look for truth in his voluminous correspondence. "No man knew better how to use 'if' and 'but' so as to shelter himself from responsibility."

These traits of character are very illuminating when we

consider his relation to Luther. Up to 1520, his attitude might be described as one of passive friendliness; though to his credit it must be noted that in 1520 he put forth considerable effort with the powers of Church and State to secure a fair hearing for Luther. But after the Diet at Worms he became more and more estranged. He dreaded the suspicion of being a "heretic" like Luther, and in many letters he protested that he had been too busy even to read the writings of Luther. When a neutral position seemed no longer possible, and he finally decided to take up his pen against Luther, he first secured permission from the pope to study the writings of the condemned heretic. And several years after his controversy with Luther he wrote to Pirkheimer: "How much the authority of the Church avails with others I know not, but it is so important to me that I could agree with Arians or Pelagians if the Church should approve what they taught. Not that the words of Christ are not sufficient for me, but it is no wonder that I follow as interpreter the Church, upon the authority of which I believe in the canonical Scriptures. Others, perhaps, have more talent or more strength than I, but I rest nowhere so safely as in the certain judgment of the Church. Of reasons and argumentations there is no end."

With this knowledge of his vacillating character and his supreme respect for the Church we approach his *De Libero Arbitrio*.

A succession of events almost forced Erasmus to take up his pen against Luther. His patron, King Henry VIII, had written an attack upon Luther, on which the Reformer had given the king a most stinging reply (1522), showing no respect for his position. The king doubtlessly urged Erasmus to help him get revenge. Meanwhile, in 1523, the fiery Hutten attacked Erasmus for his indecision (an attack which Luther very much deprecated), on which Erasmus replied, blaming Luther for disturbing the peace. In a letter to Zwingli, to whom he dedicated this reply, Erasmus summed up Luther's "errors" to be chiefly these: 1) Designation of "good works" as in themselves sinful; 2) denial of free will;

3) justification by faith alone. The second of these Erasmus chose for the subject of his tract against Luther, partly, at least, because on it he could write so as to please Rome, and yet not be compelled to recall what he had already written against the papacy. Moreover, it was a subject that appealed to his speculative mind, and one on which he honestly differed from the Wittenberg Professor.

Luther received advance information of the forthcoming *Diatribe on the Free Will;* and in April, 1524, wrote a kindly letter to Erasmus at Basel, beseeching him for the good of the cause not to create further divisions and offenses.

To this letter Erasmus replied courteously, declaring that, since Luther felt called to give an account of his faith, he must accord the same privilege to others no less zealous for the Gospel. Months before this, however, Erasmus had submitted a draft of his tract to King Henry, and so in the course of 1524 the *Diatribe on Free Will* was published.

In the introduction he was at pains to preserve his standing with the Church. He has no confidence in the clarity of Scriptures; they need an interpreter. As for himself, he is ever ready to abide by the interpretation of the Church. For individuals, like Luther, to appeal independently to the Scriptures upsets all certainty. "Moreover," he writes, "I take so little pleasure in positive assertions that I would readily join the skeptics, were it not for the inviolable authority of Holy Writ and the decrees of the Church, to which I readily subject my reason, whether I am able or not to comprehend her directions." Accordingly, we look in vain for any original treatment of the question or for any positive convictions. "As respects my opinion, I confess that the early writers teach much regarding free will, on which I as yet have no positive conviction, except that *I hold that free will is possessed of some power.*" (§ 2.) And so he quotes various opinions; but such terms as "It is probable," "It is likely," "Whether it be so I know not," creep in again and again. To believe in a providential overruling of our lives he thinks enough, "without delving into such questions as . . . whether our will is active in matters pertaining to our salva-

tion, or whether it be merely passive over against God's efficient grace." (§ 2.) He cites not a few Scripture-passages; but his exegesis is not always sound; he misapplies passages, and his illustrations are not to the point. Incidentally he (probably unintentionally) misinterprets some of Luther's statements.

In the fifth century an errorist named Pelagius had taught that God did not demand what He knew man could not perform; that man could do the will of God without the aid of grace, though less easily than when assisted by grace; that man, by the proper exercise of his free will, might acquire faith and prepare himself for grace. Pelagius found quite a following, and his error permeated the theology of the Middle Ages in the milder form of Semi-Pelagianism. However, since the Church, under the leadership of the great teacher Augustine, had formally rejected Pelagianism as a heresy, Erasmus did not want to be understood as being guilty of Pelagianism. As a matter of fact he was, though in its modified form. (Luther, however, in his reply declared him worse than Pelagius.) "Pelagius," he admits, "ascribed too much to free will," but adds: "Luther first mutilated free will by chopping off his right arm. Not content therewith, he struck him down and cleared him away entirely." (§ 41.)

Erasmus touched upon the real *crux* of the matter in this passage: "They" (Luther and his like) "exaggerate original sin beyond all measure, declaring that by it the most splendid powers of our human nature are so corrupted that of ourselves we can do no more than to be ignorant of God and hate Him." Erasmus had no deep sense of sin, as did Luther, and hence could not appreciate the absolute need of divine grace. Though he declared that all glory for the salvation of sinners should belong to Christ, in other statements he credited not a little to the virtue of man. This sentence, near the close (§ 42), practically sums up the position taken in the *Diatribe:* "I am pleased with the opinion of those who ascribe something to free will, but most to grace."

Luther waited a whole year before replying to the *Diatribe.* It was an especially trying year for him, with the

Peasant's Revolt, his marriage, and other weighty matters to occupy him. However, Luther gave as the real reason for the delay his aversion to making reply to so unworthy a tract. It was only because he feared that his silence would be misinterpreted that he could bring himself to write a counter-tract. But once undertaken, he did the work with customary zeal and thoroughness, in this case also paying special attention to his Latin and to the form of the composition.

In December, 1525, Luther published his book under the title: *On the Unfree Will,* which Jonas immediately translated into German, with the title: *That Free Will Is Nothing.*

In the preface Luther expresses his disappointment that Erasmus, to whom he concedes superiority in intellectual and rhetorical ability and in the knowledge of the languages, should not have made out a better case for himself. He asserts that Erasmus had brought forward nothing new; that his arguments had been demolished in advance by Melanchthon in his recently published *Doctrinal Theology* (*Loci Communes*). He chides the Humanist for being "slippery" in his use of words and very shifty in his argumentation. Thereupon Luther maintains the clarity and infallibility of Holy Scriptures, asserting that from them a Christian can and should gain full certitude for his faith. The Holy Ghost is no skeptic. Without positive truth there can be no Christianity. As regards free will, this is not a question on which a Christian might well be left in ignorance. We must know what ability we have over against God, and what not; else will we not properly venerate, praise, and serve Him. In the following words Luther defines the term "free will": —

"Now, if we are not ready altogether to drop this term, — which would be by far the safer and more Christian thing to do, — we should at least teach that the term is used in good faith only when a free will is conceded to man not with respect to things that are above him, but only with respect to things below him; that is, man should know that in his temporal possessions he has the power to use, to do or leave undone, according to his own free will; although

even this is controlled by God's free will, as it pleases Him. But over against God, or in matters pertaining to salvation or damnation, man has no free will, but is bound, subjected as a servant to the free will of God or to the will of the devil."

Thereupon Luther proceeds to take up for discussion each point of the *Diatribe*. He makes reply to each opinion submitted by Erasmus, copiously quoting Scripture to maintain his own position. Everywhere Luther speaks with positive conviction. As a result of the fall into sin, man's whole nature is depraved; the will is not free, but bound, a slave to Satan; no man can of himself, of his own will, accomplish, or even desire, aught that is good in God's sight. Every impulse toward that which is good must emanate from God. When man turns from sin to righteousness; when he accepts the salvation in Christ; when he believes and begins to do "good works": all this is the result of God's calling and drawing, which itself is consequent upon God's eternal decree of grace in predestination. All this is, of course, offensive to human pride and far above human reason (Ps. 73, 22: "So foolish was I and ignorant; I was as a beast before Thee"); but all this is the clear teaching of God's Word, and must therefore be simply believed. All this is also very comforting to the believer, who thus knows his salvation dependent not upon his own fickle will, but upon the unchanging will and grace of God.

"Take the example," he says, "in Rom. 10, 20, adduced from Isaiah: 'I was found of them that sought Me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after Me.' This he says of the heathen, that unto them it had been given to hear and to know Christ, although previously they could not have had so much as a thought of Christ, much less seek Him or with the powers of free will to prepare themselves for Him. This example makes it sufficiently clear that grace comes altogether without merit; that no thought of grace, much less an effort or a desire for grace, precedes it. Even so it was in the case of Paul. While he was yet a Saul, what did he do with this (vaunted) highest power of

free will? Surely he had the best and noblest intentions, when judged by human reason. Now, mark well, through what kind of effort did he obtain grace? Not only does he not seek grace, but he obtains grace while yet resisting. With respect to the Jews, on the other hand, he declares: 'The Gentiles, which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is of faith. But Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness.' (Rom. 9, 30. 31.) What can any champion of free will mutter against this? Without merit, by the grace of God, the Gentiles attain to righteousness while yet filled with ungodliness and all manner of vice, whereas the Jews fail to attain unto righteousness whilst striving after the same with most earnest endeavor. Is not this equivalent to saying that the effort of free will is vain, and that, while attempting the good, the will itself is losing ground and growing worse? Nor could any one maintain that the Jews had not put forth the very best powers of their will. Paul himself bears them record, Rom. 10, 2, 'that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.' Therefore nothing is lacking with the Jews which might be attributed to free will; and yet nothing [good] results, but rather the opposite. With the Gentiles nothing is present that is attributed to free will, and yet the righteousness of God follows. What have we in this most manifest example of these two peoples [Jews and Gentiles] and in this most clear testimony of Paul other than the evidence that grace is bestowed freely upon the undeserving and the most unworthy, and is not obtained by any strivings, efforts, or works, however small or great, even of the best and most honorable of mankind, even though they should seek and follow after righteousness with burning zeal?"

In the following section Luther marshals powerful arguments from St. John: —

Now let us take up John, who likewise, in many words and powerfully, strikes down free will. At the very outset he ascribes to free will so great blindness that it cannot even see the light of truth: how much less, then, could it strive

after the truth. For he says (John 1, 5): "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not"; and shortly after (vv. 10. 11): "He was in the world, . . . and the world knew Him not; He came into His own, and His own received Him not."

What do you suppose he means with "world"? Would you exclude from this term any but such as have been regenerated by the Holy Ghost? This apostle [John] regularly uses the word "world" with a peculiar significance, meaning thereby the whole human race. Whatever, then, he says regarding the world must apply to the free will, since that is the most excellent part of man. Now, then, according to this apostle the world does not know the light of truth (John 1, 10); the world hates Christ and His followers (John 15, 19); the world knows not nor sees the Holy Ghost (John 14, 17); the whole world lieth in wickedness (1 John 5, 19); all that is in the world is the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life; love not the world (1 John 2, 15. 16); ye are of the world (says He) (John 8, 25); "the world cannot hate you; but Me it hateth because I testify of it that the works thereof are evil" (John 7, 7).

All these and similar passages are declarations regarding free will as the chief agency of a world lying in the power of the devil. For John also speaks of the world by way of contrast [to the Holy Ghost]; hence with "world" is meant that part which has not been brought to the Spirit, as He says to the Apostles: "I have chosen you out of the world and ordained you," etc. (John 15, 19. 16.) Now, then, if there were any in the world who with a free will were striving after goodness, — as would be the case if free will had any power, — then out of respect for such John would properly have tempered his speech, so that he would not in his general terms involve these also in the many evils which he charges against the world. But since he fails to make any such restrictions, it is evident that he in every passage regarding the "world" also accuses the free will; for whatever the

world may do it does by the power of free will, that is, by reason and will, which are its chief excellencies.

Now follows John 1, 12. 13: "But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." By this clean-cut division he rejects from the kingdom of Christ the blood, the will of the flesh, and the will of man. . . . In this rejection the will of man, or the free will, is necessarily included, since it is neither born of God, nor is it faith. Now, if free will availed aught, it would not have behooved John to reject the will of man, nor to draw men away from the same, and point them solely to faith and regeneration, lest the word of Isaiah (5, 20) be made to apply to him: "Woe unto them that call evil good and good evil!" However, since he equally rejects blood, the will of the flesh and the will of man, it is certain that the will of man can do no more toward producing children of God than can [human] blood or physical generation. But no one doubts that physical birth does not produce children of God, as St. Paul says (Rom. 9, 8): "They which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God"; which he proves by the example of Ishmael and Isaac.

In deducing an argument against free will from John 1, 16: "Of His fulness have we all received and grace for grace," Luther replies specifically to Erasmus's position that man by the effort of his will can, in a measure at least, prepare himself for the grace of God. And here Luther drives home to the consciousness of the champions of free will that they are deniers of Christ when they maintain free will. For if I by my effort obtain the grace of God, what need have I of the grace of Christ in order to receive grace for myself? Grace will not suffer beside itself any, even the smallest, particle or power of free will.

Take, further, this word of Christ (John 6, 44): "No man can come to Me except the Father which hath sent Me draw Him," — what does it leave for free will? For He says it is necessary that a man hear and learn of the Father

Himself, and then also (v. 45) that all must be taught of God. Surely, He here teaches not only that the works and efforts of free will are useless, but even that the word of the Gospel (of which He here treats) will be heard in vain unless the Father Himself inwardly speak, teach, and draw. No one can, no one (He says) can come, that is, in that strength in which man could attempt anything for Christ; such strength as regards matters of salvation is declared to be nothing.

Luther closed his lengthy reply to Erasmus with these words: "The Lord, to whom belongs our cause, enlighten thee, and make thee a vessel to His honor and glory!"

How sincerely this pious wish was meant appears from letters written to Spalatin and Lange 'way back in 1516 and 1517, in which, after expressing his regrets (eight years before the *Diatribe*) that Erasmus was not sound with regard to the doctrines of original sin, free will, righteousness, and grace, he added the hope that the Lord would enlighten him, so that his authority and usefulness might increase. But the doctrinal controversy of 1525 definitely alienated the Prince of Humanists from the great Reformer. It marked more clearly the sharp line between rationalists and Bible-theologians. Erasmus got little satisfaction out of his *Diatribe* and of his later efforts in the *Hyperaspistes* (which Luther deemed unworthy of a reply). Even the papacy had no reward for him. Having lived a mediating life, he died in virtual isolation (1536). And after death he was classed by Rome as a heretic, and ranged with those whose cause he had refused to espouse; for Paul IV placed all his books, including those against Luther, on the Index. Thus the life and work of Desiderius Erasmus is an illustration of the truth of the Savior's statement: "He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth abroad."

Luther, on the other hand, had the satisfaction of finding that his book on the unfree will strengthened the simple trust of his adherents in the overruling providence of God and the all-sufficiency of His electing and sustaining grace in

Christ. His Biblical doctrine of the unfree will was incorporated in the Augsburg Confession (Art. XVIII) and, briefly, in the Smalcald Articles; after his death more fully in the Formula of Concord (Art. II). Luther himself, in his later years, classed his book on the unfree will as among the few of his works which he wished might not perish. For the simple Christian he compressed the great truths of this doctrine of the unfree will, of the election and conversion of a sinner purely by the grace of God, into these clear statements of his Small Catechism:

"The kingdom of God comes to us . . . when our heavenly Father gives us His Holy Spirit, so that by His grace we believe His holy Word and lead a godly life, here in time and hereafter in eternity," —

and:

"I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to Him; but the Holy Ghost has called me by the Gospel, enlightened me with His gifts, sanctified and kept me in the true faith; even as He calls, gathers, enlightens, and sanctifies the whole Christian Church on earth, and keeps it with Jesus Christ in the one true faith."

Luther and Justification.

Rev. W. Dallmann, Milwaukee, Wis.

I. The Importance.

"I believe neither the pope nor the councils alone, for it is plain they have often erred and contradicted one another. I am overcome by the Scriptures quoted by me, and my conscience is bound in God's Word. I cannot, neither am I willing to, take back anything; for to act against conscience is neither safe nor upright. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God help me! Amen."

So spoke Luther at Worms, in 1521. He had already been excommunicated by the pope, and now he was to be outlawed by the kaiser; yet he took his soul and his life in

his hand and defied Church and State — Luther against the world!

According to Carlyle and Froude this is one of the finest scenes in history or fiction. This speech is one of the greatest ever spoken by the lips of man.

Why would Luther heroically die rather than take back his teaching, which may be summed up in Justification by Faith? Because he held it "the article of the standing and the falling Church."

He said: "In this article we can make no concession or compromise, though heaven and earth and all else sink into ruins. . . . And on this article depends all we teach and do against the pope, the devil, and the world." (Smalcald Articles; Mueller, p. 300.) Again: "If but this one article in its purity holds the field, the Christian Church also will remain pure, peaceful, and without sects; but if this does not remain pure, it is impossible to resist any error or sectarian spirit." (Mueller, p. 611.)

The Romanists agreed with Luther that justification was the ground for the real Armageddon, the decisive battle between Christ and Antichrist. Luther and his opponents did not fight in the dark, but in broad daylight, with their visors open, and each saw the vital spot where the deadly thrust might pierce the heart.

The fathers of Trent said: "All the errors of Martin were resolved into that point — justification — from whence he hath denied efficacy in the Sacraments, authority of priests, purgatory, sacrifice of the Mass, and all other remedies for remission of sins. Therefore, by a contrary way, he that will establish the body of the Catholic doctrine must overthrow the heresy of justification by faith only." (Paolo Sarpi, *Hist. Council Trent,* p. 190, in M'Ilvaine's *Righteousness by Faith,* p. XXIV.)

Against what did Luther protest?

"There is in the Church a treasure of the satisfactions of Christ and the saints which is applicable to those who, after the remission of the guilt in the Sacrament of Penance, are still liable to the payment of temporal punishment."

(Cardinal Bellarmine, quoted by John Henry Newman in his *Prophetic Office of the Church,* p. 136.)

This treasure the pope sold to the people.

"What he thought he was buying was forgiveness of his past sins, and, at the same time, liberty to commit more. . . . And the magic documents were sold indiscriminately to all comers." No student of the history of Luther's times who pursues his studies without blinkers can doubt that these words (of Dr. Beard) accurately describe that colossal scandal which Erasmus designated "the crime of false pardons." There can be no doubt whatever — the evidence is too abundant and too overwhelming — that the vast majority of the preachers of indulgences soon became to be of the type of the "gentil pardoner" who lives for us in Chaucer's pages.

For min entente is nat but for to winne,
And no-thing for correction to sinne.

To the crowds who flocked to the indulgence fairs their message practically was, as Herr Kawerau bluntly puts it, that St. Peter for hard cash would open and guarantee heaven.

So says William Samuel Lilly, of Cambridge University, Secretary of the Catholic Union of Great Britain, in his *Renaissance Types,* pp. 254. 255.

Against the pope's sale of the forgiveness of sins for hard cash Luther protested by his justification by faith.

II. The Doctrine.

Justification is the imputation of the expiation. That is the key-stone holding the other doctrines in place; without it they would fall into meaningless ruins. The other doctrines form the warp and woof of justification, and that cannot be destroyed without destroying the rest. Justification presupposes and implies all the important Christian doctrines, so that it is not a doctrine of Christianity, — it is Christianity.

1. *What does justification presuppose?*

a. Justification presupposes the whole work of Christ for our salvation.

We were disobedient sinners, and the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience. (Eph. 2, 3; 5, 6; Rom. 1, 18; 2, 8.)

"Oh, generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" (Matt. 3, 7.)

Jesus delivered us from the wrath to come. (1 Thess. 1, 10; 5, 9; Rom. 5, 9.)

How? He is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. (John 1, 29.)

How? Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed for us. (1 Cor. 5, 7.) Christ's soul was a guilt-offering for sin. (Is. 53, 10.) Christ gave Himself for an offering and a sacrifice to God, to make propitiation for the sins of the people. (Eph. 5, 2; Heb. 2, 17.) Christ died for our sins, the Just for the unjust, to bring us to God. (1 Cor. 15, 3; 1 Pet. 3, 18.)

b. This work of Christ involves the whole person of Christ. He was born, He suffered, He died; and so He is the man Christ Jesus. (1 Tim. 2, 5; Luke 24, 39.)

But no man can redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him; for the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth forever. (Ps. 49, 7. 8.)

Christ is man, true man, but not mere man, He is the God-man, and so the blood of Christ is the blood of the Son of God, God hath purchased His Church with His own blood, and so it is the precious blood of Christ that cleanseth us from all sins. (1 Pet. 1, 18. 19; Acts 20, 28.)

Because He is man, His work is available for man; because He is God, His work is satisfactory to God.

c. The work of Christ involves the Holy Trinity. Christ made atonement for our sins; He achieved the reconciliation; He paid the ransom, the price of our redemption. But it was the Father who so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son. (John 3, 16.) It pleased the Father by Christ to reconcile all things unto Himself. (Col. 1, 20; Rom. 5, 8.)

While the Father conceived the reconciliation, and the Son achieved the reconciliation, we received the reconciliation (Rom. 5, 11) through the word of reconciliation (2 Cor.

5, 19), which the Holy Spirit applied to us — "Ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." (1 Cor. 6, 11.) No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost. (1 Cor. 12, 3.) With this faith we possess the Holy Spirit, who bears witness with our spirit that we are the children of God (Rom. 8, 16; Gal. 4, 6), and who is the seal and earnest of our salvation. (2 Cor. 1, 21. 22; Eph. 1, 14; Rom. 8, 23.)

The expiation is made *to* the Father; the expiation is made *by* the Son; the expiation is imputed by the Holy Spirit — a threefold, yet uniform activity of the Trinity. This relation of the Holy Trinity is real, continuing, and eternal.

2. *What does justification imply?*

a. Justification implies the sinfulness of man.

Why did Christ have to make an expiation? Naturally, because man could not make it himself. We have come short of the glory of God, we have failed to attain to the righteousness of God. (Rom. 3, 9. 19. 23.) The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them. (1 Cor. 2, 14.) We are dead in trespasses and sins. (Eph. 2, 1; Col. 2, 13.)

And sin is not simply a lack, a defect, an imperfection, something negative; no, man is positively and actively a transgressor. The carnal mind is enmity against God (Rom. 8, 7), and from this covert enemy mind come overt enemy acts of aggression and rebellion in thought, word, and deed. And so man knows himself laden with guilt and therefore a child of wrath. (Eph. 2, 3.)

As to this very guilt the guilty is declared not guilty. Justification is just this, that God does not impute their trespasses unto sinners, but does impute the righteousness of Christ. (2 Cor. 5, 19—21; Rom. 4, 6—8.) The guilty is transferred into the state of grace. The child of wrath is accepted in the Beloved.

So justification implies man's total depravity, which is taught in Scripture and found in the Christian's experience.

When we now probe human nature, we shall discover the fountain of iniquity in original sin, which has corrupted and vitiated our whole human nature. And the more we grow in grace and holiness, the more we realize the corruption of our native condition. The clearer the light from heaven beats upon our heart, the deeper the blackness of night comes out by the violent contrast between God's holiness and man's sinfulness.

From the nadir of our fallen state we view the zenith of our original estate. The fallen state of man's present enmity against God implies his former state of friendship with God, when man walked with God in the cool of the evening. Then man was in the image of God, which consisted in holiness, righteousness, and the true knowledge of God.

Christ has slain the enmity; He is our peace; and in the strength of my justification I grow in holiness, and thus put on more and more of the image of God, return nearer to the original state from which I had fallen.

This total depravity also implies the bondage of the will. It is not denied that man is a free agent in civil and political matters; it is denied that he is a free agent in spiritual matters. And this is not a barren speculation of philosophy, but a very practical truth taught in Scripture and found in the Christian's experience.

Dead in sin, we have been quickened by God. Blind in sin, we have been enlightened by God, who hath shined into our hearts to give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus. It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure. Both Scriptures and experience lead a Christian to confess: "I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to Him, but the Holy Ghost has called me by the Gospel," etc.

Even the best of Christians still feels the terrific power of sin, — what must have been that power before he became a Christian! (Rom. 7, 14—25.) So justification implies the

bondage of the will, and denies all Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism. We are saved by the operation of God, not by the cooperation of man; by God's monergism, not by man's synergism.

b. Justification implies faith.

1. *The Source of Faith.*

The Gospel is the promise of God's grace in Christ Jesus. How can I receive a promise? Of course, only by faith. Faith trusts the promise, clings to the promise, rests on the promise.

As a ring is precious on account of the diamond it holds, so faith has justifying power on account of the Christ it embraces. (Rom. 4, 25; 1 Cor. 15.) What gives joy to the assurance of faith is the view of the exalted Christ making intercession for us. (Rom. 8, 32—39.)

While the Gospel is the object of faith (Mark 1, 15), it is, at the same time, the principle of faith. The gracious promise itself produces the trustful faith in itself. The Gospel's fair face and winsome ways win the will of the sinner, and beget a whole-hearted confidence and a fearless and unconditional surrender. The Gospel speaks with the accents of downright truth and transparent honesty, and thus woos and wins the enemy.

As the potter's hands form the clay, so the Gospel is the formal principle — it gives form and shape to the faith. The Christian faith is no more and no less and none other than the Gospel makes it. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God." (Rom. 10, 17; Eph. 1, 9. 10. 13; 1 Thess. 2, 13.)

This Gospel is not a mere teaching about God, it is the power of God unto salvation; it is a living and life-giving and life-changing power. This Gospel is the means used by the Holy Spirit, and so it is the Gospel of our salvation. (Eph. 1, 13.) Of His own will begat He us with the Word of Truth. (Jas. 1, 18; 1 Pet. 1, 23; John 3, 5. 6; 1 Thess. 2, 13.)

In common with the Gospel, the Sacraments are real

means of grace, through which the Holy Spirit is conferred. Yet are they not charms that work in a magical manner. Holy Baptism is for the remission of sins. Yet it is not the water that does the work, but the word of God, which is in and with the water, and faith, which trusts such word of God in the water. The Holy Communion is for the remission of sins. Yet it is not the eating and drinking that does the work, for *he* is truly worthy and well prepared who has faith in these words, "Given and shed for you for the remission of sins." For the words, "For you," require all hearts to believe.

If the Gospel is the divine object and also the divine cause of faith, then this Gospel has a unique dignity and authority, which nothing else can rival. Bound by the authority of God's Word, we are bound by nothing else. If the Son has made us free, we will not again be entangled with the yoke of bondage. (John 8, 36; Gal. 5, 1.)

This liberty is not an unbridled license or a chaotic anarchy, it is a liberty in Christ: one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren. (Matt. 23, 8.) Our liberty is regulated by Christ, otherwise we bow to no authority.

In this Protestant freedom we are free from the yoke of the Roman tradition, which the papists place on a level with the Bible as an independent source of knowledge and as of equal binding force and authority. We are, furthermore, free from the authority of Rationalism, which holds human reason the source and norm of spiritual knowledge. We are, finally, free from the authority of Mysticism, which places an inner light alongside of Scripture or even above Scripture.

2. *The Effect of Faith.*

If God loved us to save us, we love God for having saved us, — we love Him because He first loved us. (1 John 4, 19.)

The love of God was not an idle sentiment, it sacrificed His only-begotten Son for us; and our love of God is not sentimental moonshine, the love of Christ constraineth us. (2 Cor. 5, 14.) Christ is our righteousness, also He is our sanctification. (1 Cor. 1, 30.) Justifying faith is the potent

principle of holiness. If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature. (2 Cor. 5, 14; Rom. 5, 5.) Faith worketh by love. (Gal. 5, 6. 22—25.) Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith. (2 Cor. 13, 5; Gal. 6, 4.) It is the Apostle of Faith who has sung the divinest Hymn of Love, in 1 Cor. 13.

Since our good works flow from the fountain of our love of God, since they are the fruits of our faith, they cannot be the ground of our justification; they do not precede justifying faith, but follow after the same. Our good works are not merits to be rewarded, not service to be paid for, but they are the tokens of thanks for mercies received.

This truth majestically brushes aside the whole jungle of papal good works of monks and nuns, and celibacy, and fastings, and flagellations, and vows, and pilgrimages, and rosaries, and penances, and satisfactions, and sacrifices, and the countless host of saints, male and female, and their glory and intercession, and we see no man but Jesus only.

From what has been said there comes into view the relation between the Law and the Gospel. Though both are revelations of God, their functions differ fundamentally. The Law reveals God's holiness, and by contrast man's sinfulness and condemnation. The Gospel reveals God's grace and man's salvation through the atonement of Jesus Christ. By the Law is the knowledge of sin; by the Gospel is the forgivenes of sin.

The Law is a guide-post, pointing out the road of holiness; but it can supply no life and strength to walk the path of holiness. The Gospel gives the spiritual life and spiritual strength to travel the road to heaven.

The atoning work of Christ offered in the Gospel and received by faith unites me to Christ, the Head, and makes me a living member of His body, the Church. And so the Church is the communion of saints. The saints have communion with Christ, and through Christ with one another. The Church is not Christ's vicar on earth, whom I must obey in order to become a member of the outward organization and thus a member of Christ, but the Church is Christ's

servant, which ministers the Gospel to me, and unites me to Christ, and thus makes me a member of the Church. Christ and faith in Christ is the basis of my church-membership. The Church does not make me a member of Christ, but Christ makes me a member of the Church.

Where is this Church, and by what marks can I know it? The Gospel creates faith; faith makes the Christian; the Christians make the Church. The Church, then, is where the Gospel and the Sacraments are in use, and by the use of the Gospel and the Sacraments I recognize the Church with unerring certainty; and there is where I belong. The people using the Gospel and the Sacraments form the congregation, or the visible Church.

In this visible congregation the Word of God rules with divine authority. Human rules may be made and altered from time to time, that everything may be done decently and in order, but human rules may not be enforced as necessary to salvation.

From justification by faith it is an easy step to the universal priesthood of all believers. The Old Testament distinction between priest and people, clergymen and laymen, is at an end. Christ, our High Priest, has made all Christians priests unto God. All Christians are God's clergy, and so there is no special clerical order in the Church. The ministry is an office, not an order, much less a threefold order of bishops, priests, and deacons.

It follows that the Office of the Keys is not given to the hierarchy, which does not exist, but to all Christians, who make up the Church. These Christians ask some one to perform the functions of the ministry for them, in their stead, for God's sake. And so the Church is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and all Christians are the people.

And so we are the people to have the Bible and to spread the Bible; we are the people to read the Bible and school every boy and girl to read the Bible; we are the people to interpret the Bible, and thus separate Church and State, and permit neither priest nor politician to dictate our re-

ligion or our politics, and thus maintain our civil and religious liberty.

Was Luther's teaching "novel," "original with him"? Principal Forsyth says: "Luther, I reiterate, rediscovered Paul and the New Testament. He gave back to Christianity the Gospel, and he restored Christianity to religion. . . . The issue which is raised concerns the essential nature of Christianity." (*Rome, Reform, and Reaction.*) Lyman Abbott declares: "Lutheranism was a revival of Paulinism." (*Life of Paul,* p. 327.) Renan says Paul has "been for three hundred years, thanks to Protestantism, the Christian doctor *par excellence.*" D. S. Muzzey says "the theologians succeed in identifying St. Paul with Lutheranism."

III. The Effect.

1. *On the Individual.*

John Henry Newman, the famous Anglican and later Roman cardinal, says it was Luther's "wish to extirpate all notions of human merit; next, to give peace and satisfaction to the troubled conscience."

Certainly a noble wish. Did Luther succeed? Let Newman say: "Luther's view of the Gospel covenant met both the alleged evils against which it was provided. For if Christ has obeyed the Law instead of us, it follows that every believer has at once a perfect righteousness, yet not his own. That it is not his own precludes all boasting; that it is perfect precludes all anxiety. The conscience is unladen, without becoming puffed up." (*Lect. on Justif.,* p. 26.)

Well put, Mr. Newman, and quite true. St. Paul said so long ago: "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . and rejoice in hope of the glory of God." (Rom. 5, 1. 2.)

2. *On the Church.*

Mr. Newman says: "Luther found in the Church great corruptions countenanced by its highest authorities; he felt them."

History tells us how quite unspeakable were these cor-

ruptions in teaching and living. The whole world tried, and tried again, and yet again, at the councils of Pisa, and Constance, and Basel, and the Lateran, to reform the Church, and failed signally and dismally. Cardinal Bellarmine says: "Religion was almost dead." Von Doellinger says: "The last hope of a reformation of the Church was carried to the grave."

Where all the world, the great in Church and State, had failed for centuries, Luther succeeded almost instantly. How? Mr. Newman says: "He adopted a doctrine original, specious, fascinating, persuasive, powerful against Rome, and wonderfully adapted, as if prophetically, to the genius of the times which were to follow. He found Christians in bondage to their works and observances; he released them by his doctrine of faith." (p. 386.)

Mr. Newman was bitterly hostile to Luther's "justification," and left the Anglican Church for the Roman, and became a cardinal.

3. *On the World in General.*

"Luther was one of the greatest personalities in the history of the human race; he possessed a remarkable and fascinating individuality, and a mind so masterful as to dominate those about him and to impress its stamp upon the subsequent political and religious history of the world." (Monsignor Jos. H. McMahon in Catholic Library Ass'n Lect. Course 1913—4 in Delmonico's, N. Y. City.)

"Luther has been the restorer of liberty in modern times." (Michelet, French Catholic writer.)

"That heroic and pregnant No! bore within it the liberties of the world." (Francois Auguste Marie Mignet.)

"Its beneficial influence has been felt in every branch of learning, in every department of science, and in every institution of civil liberty." (Thomas Horne, *Bampton Lectures,* 1828.)

"Luther has done more to change the history of the world than any other man since St. Paul." (Dr. Francis Clark, in *Christian Endeavor World.*)

4. *On America in Particular.*

"The principle of justification by faith alone brought with it the freedom of individual thought and conscience against authority." (Bancroft, I, p. 178.)

"Free and representative government is the logical consequence of Protestant Christianity." (Laveleye's *Prot. and Cath.;* Introduction by Gladstone.)

"The republic of America is a corollary of the Reformation." (Charles François Dominique de Villers.)

"The inalienable rights of an American citizen are nothing but the Protestant idea of the general priesthood of all believers applied to the civil sphere, or developed into the corresponding idea of the general kingship of free men." (Philip Schaff, *Creeds,* p. 219.)

"The Reformation of Luther . . . introduced the principle of civil liberty . . . into the wilderness of North America." (Daniel Webster at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1843.)

"The free millions of the United States may well rise up and do Luther honor by cherishing his example, pondering his history, and maintaining his creed." (Bishop Thorold, of Rochester, England; *Phila. Press,* Nov. 10, 1883.)

"Every man in Western Europe and in America is leading a different life to-day from what he would have been, had Martin Luther not lived." (Dr. Preserved Smith; also Froude, also Charles Dudley Warner.)

"Our civil liberty is the result of the open Bible, which Luther gave us." (Henry Ward Beecher.)

"Look around and see . . . Luther's . . . latest fruits in the greatness of this free republic." (Wm. M. Taylor, LL. D., Broadway Tabernacle, N. Y. City.)

"Martin Luther . . . the instrument of God in giving . . . all that we Americans now enjoy, and all that we rejoice in being." (The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, *Mass. Hist. Soc.*)

"To Martin Luther, above all men, we Anglo-Americans are indebted for national independence and mental freedom." (Frederic Hedge, of Harvard.)

"America has been the greatest beneficiary of that noble

teaching" (Luther's). (Pres. Eliot, of Harvard, May 9, 1913, N. Y. City.)

"Our Constitution still reads: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' For this we must thank the Reformation." (The Rev. Prof. Francis Pieper, D. D., Pres. Concordia Theol. Sem., St. Louis.)

Luther at Marburg.

Prof. R. D. Biedermann, Concordia Seminary, Springfield, Ill.

"Deus vos impleat odio papae" (God fill you with hatred towards the pope), said Martin Luther to his friends in referring to the perniciousness of Roman doctrines and to the abomination of the hierarchic practises. Protestants in general approve of this famous admonition of Luther in regard to the papacy. Praise for Luther's parting words to Zwingli at Marburg, "Yours is a different spirit from ours," is not so general. Indeed, Luther's attitude towards the Zwinglians at the conclusion of the conference at Marburg has met with unanimous condemnation on the part of all Protestants of the *unionistic* type.

Says James Taft Hatfield in *The Dial* (1911, p. 528): "His [Luther's] crude superstition is very unlovely; so is his narrow intolerance of religious variation; more particularly his pig-headed ugliness towards the good Zwingli."

Bunsen represents the occurrences at Marburg as being "the deepest tragedy of Luther's life and of the history of Protestantism" — by fault of Luther. (*Acme Library of Standard Biography,* 1880, p. 39.)

Arthur E. McGiffert has this to say: "The most notable example of Luther's intolerance was his attitude toward the famous Swiss reformer, Ulrich Zwingli. . . . In reading the reports of the Marburg Colloquy, we are inevitably reminded of the great Leipsic debate of eleven years before. As Eck then insisted upon blind and unquestioning submission to the authority of the Church, Luther now insisted upon the

same kind of submission to the authority of the Bible." (Articles in *Century*, 1911; also published in book form, *Martin Luther, the Man and His Work*, The Century Co., 1911.)

True, at Marburg Luther once more "insisted upon blind and unquestioning submission to the Bible." At Marburg Luther once more applied the formal principle of the Reformation — *Sola Scriptura*, Scripture alone. At Marburg Zwingli and his adherents once more revealed that "spirit so different" from Luther's, that rationalistic treatment of God's Holy Writ, the minimizing of doctrinal differences for the purpose of external union.

For years that "different spirit" of Zwingli and other "Sacramentarians" had been in evidence. For years Luther and his colleagues had fought this "different spirit."

Huldricus Zwinglius, of Zurich, Switzerland, like others of his age, was indebted to the writings of Martin Luther for the knowledge that the pope was not the vicar of Christ to the Church nor its lawgiver. But Zwinglius, "Reformator et Pastor Ecclesiae Tigurinae," as he signed himself, had not, like Luther, passed through great inward struggles, was not centered in the comforting doctrine of justification by grace, did not seek every means to enrich sinners with the Gospel-treasure of forgiveness of sins and the certainty thereof. More of a legislator than a pastor, Zwingli aimed at the improvement of community life, the reconstruction of public morals. Political reformation was predominant in the mind of Zwinglius. To him the Church was not the spiritual body, nourished by the spiritual means of the Word and the Sacraments, but a social institution, entrusted with the responsibility of suggesting laws for the moral elevation of the citizenship. Zwingli mixed State and Church as much as any Romanist might do, substituting Protestantism, of course, for Romanism in the process of amalgamation. Zwingli also worshiped the beautiful in letters and art, adored mind in man, was a thorough rationalist, *and had no use for an objective Word of God to which subjective opinions must be subordinated.* Where there was

a collision between a Bible-passage and human reasoning, a textual explanation must be found which does not outrage, but rather satisfy the human mind.

Following the "*Vernunft*prinzip" (principle of reason) instead of the "*Schrift*prinzip" (principle of the Bible), it was only natural that Zwingli drifted away from Luther and soon became his opponent, *especially in the doctrine of the Eucharist, the Lord's Supper.* In this respect Zwingli followed *Bodenstein,* with some variation of interpretation.

Andreas Bodenstein, of Carlstadt, in Franconia, generally called Carlstadtius, at one time a colaborer of Luther at the University of Wittenberg, had since 1521 done incalculable harm to the work of the Reformation through his riotous, fanatic teaching. His operations became even more destructive to the Evangelical Church when he came to the front with his false interpretation of the words of the Sacrament.

According to Carlstadt, Christ, when uttering the word τοῦτο, *this,* pointed to His visible body, implying: You see My body before you, which I give for you; in commemoration thereof partake of bread and wine. Thus Carlstadt, with one stroke, removed from the words of the Sacrament, first, the wonderful truth that Christ gives to the partaker of the consecrated bread and wine His body and blood; secondly, the consoling message that sins are forgiven to the communicant; thirdly, the comforting assurance that the body and blood of Christ received with the bread and wine are a token, a seal of the words of forgiveness.

Although he took sides with Carlstadt against Luther, Zwingli did not emasculate the text in the same fashion. To Zwingli, the linguist, it was quite plain that τοῦτο, *this,* must refer to the bread and the wine distributed by Christ to the individual communicants. But, said Zwingli, the word ἐστί, *is,* in the institution means *signifies* (*bedeutet*). Take, eat; this bread *signifies* My body, which is given for you. Take, drink; this wine *signifies* My blood, which is shed for you. This treatment of the plain, sublime words of our Master was first published in Zwingli's *Commentarius*

de vera et falsa religione, 1525. The effect of Zwingli's interpretation of Christ's words was the same as in Carlstadt's maltreatment of the same — a denatured Sacrament, robbed of its special import and profit to the penitent communicant.

As to Luther's simple acceptance of the first and direct meaning of Christ's words, Zwingli wrote: "Est opinio non solum rustica, sed etiam impia et frivola," an opinion which is not only rustic (bäurisch, farmer-like), but also impious and frivolous. (Ketter to Matth. Alber, pastor at Reutlingen.)

Of one mind with both Carlstadt and Zwingli was the latter's dear friend and companion in Switzerland, *Johannes Oecolampadius* (Johann Hausschein). For his religious knowledge Oecolampadius was also indebted to Luther. What is more, as late as 1521 he had fought at Luther's side for the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament. Afterwards he shared Zwingli's position. But to reach that ground he must blaze a path of his own in the treatment of Christ's institutional words. Why deprive the word *ἐστί, is,* of its literal meaning when you get the same results by a figurative explanation of the words *σῶμα,* body, and *αἷμα,* blood? "Body" means *"sign* of My body"; "blood" means *"sign, emblem,* of My blood."

This ingenious, but audacious circumvention of the plain, unquestionable promise of Christ to give the very body and blood which were sacrificed for us was publicly pronounced by Oecolampadius in his book, *De genuina verborum Domini: Hoc est corpus meum, expositione,* 1525.

The year 1525 produced another colleague of Carlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius by the name of Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossigk. A mystic, depending not on the words of Scripture, — to do so he termed "Buchstabendienst," slavery to the letter, — Schwenkfeld claimed to know by special revelation that *τοῦτο, this,* was the *predicate* of the disputed sentence; the words must be reversed, as it were: My body is *this,* namely, the true bread for the soul; My blood is *this,* namely, the true potion for the soul.

Valentin Krautwald, of Silesia, indorsed this Schwenk-

feldian treatment of the institutional words. One Petrus Florus, of Cologne, succeeded in finding still another way of juggling the sacred words of Christ.

LUTHER CAST THEM ALL "INTO ONE AND THE SAME POT." He perceived in each and every one of the Sacramentarians the "identical puffed-up, carnal mind which twists about and struggles in the attempt to avoid obeying the Word of God. (St. Louis ed. XVIII, 1541.) As to himself, the very disunion of his opponents in the exegesis of the text confirmed him in his *Christian spirit* of *clinging to the text* as the only way of knowing the truth (John 8, 31. 32). "I am hedged in, I cannot escape: the text, all too powerful, is there, and does not suffer itself to be torn from one's mind." (Erl. 53, 274.)

In 1524, Luther wrote his "Letter to the Christians at Strassburg," where Bucer and Capito leaned towards Carlstadt. This was followed in 1525 by the treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets concerning Emblems and the Sacrament."

Being still "busy with Erasmus," Luther left Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Schwenkfeld to his colaborers in the work of the Lord. (Letter to Nic. Hausmann at Zwickau. St. L. ed., XXI a, 792.) Thus Johann Bugenhagen — Luther generally calls him Pomeranus — writes against Zwingli in defense of a literal acceptance of Christ's words in the Sacrament. Oecolampadius rushes to the aid of his friend Zwingli. The Swabian clergymen, Johann Brenz and Erhard Schnepf, answer in the name of fourteen other pastors by the "Syngramma Suevicum," ably defending Luther's doctrine on the Eucharist. Oecolampadius, in 1526, meets the "Syngramma" by an "Antisyngramma." — Another list of Lutheran theologians (Bilibald Pirkheimer, Theobald Gerlacher, Urbanus Rhegius, and others) enter the army of brave defenders of the right doctrine. — A *new feature* enters into the conflict. *Capito* and *Bucer,* of Strassburg, attempt the role of *peacemakers* by *minimizing the doctrinal difference,* asking Lutherans and Zwinglians to fraternize regardless of remaining discrepancies.

At last the mighty Luther again takes up the battle

against the whole field of Sacramentarians. In 1526, appeared his "Sermon on the Body and Blood of Christ against the Fanatics." This was followed in April, 1527, by the tremendously powerful treatise "That These Words: 'This Is My Body,' Still Stand Unshaken." After a violent illness, during which his life was despaired of, Luther resumed labor on his book, "Dr. Martin Luther's Confession concerning Christ's Supper," and published it in the early part of 1528. This book is remarkable for its clearness, depth, and force.

Thus did the controversy rage up to 1529, the year of the Marburg Conference.

It is a *historical misrepresentation,* however, to treat this conference as the culmination of a desire on the part of the theologians to bury their differences. The initiative was taken by the *Landgrave Philip of Hesse.* He wished to bring about doctrinal union among the Protestants, in order that they might amalgamate and form a solid, politico-military body against the aggressive Romanists. For not only did Emperor Charles V unite his power with the influence of the pope to carry out the Edict of Worms and crush Lutheranism, the papal nuncio Campeggi had also effected a *league* between Archduke Ferdinand, the Duke of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and a majority of bishops in the southeastern part of Germany. The avowed purpose of this Catholic federation was the protection of "the old faith" and the strict enforcement of the Edict of Worms. In their realm no books of Luther should be printed, no student from their territory should be allowed to attend the University of Wittenberg. The convention at Ratisbon had the fullest cooperation of Emperor Charles V in its hostile measures toward Lutheranism. In those days Charles V, obedient servant of the pope, sent repeated messages from Spain to all princes and bishops of Germany, demanding that the Lutheran heresy be crushed.

It was then that Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Elector John of Saxony, and Margrave George of Brandenburg felt constrained to form a *Protestant League* to defend the Evangelical faith by arms. Luther, for various reasons, did not

indorse this course, partly, because carnal weapons should not be used to protect the spiritual kingdom of Christ; partly, because arms should not be carried against the emperor, their lawful ruler; finally, because those that were to be united into one army were not of one faith.

How to eliminate the doctrinal differences among the Protestants became a burning question, not so much from a religious as from a politico-military point of view. *Therefore Landgrave Philip of Hesse sent invitations to the most prominent Lutheran and Reformed theologians to meet him at Marburg.*

The invitations were accepted with alacrity by Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Caspar Hedio; with reluctance by the Lutheran theologians. Neither Luther nor Melanchthon, Osiander nor Brenz, were favorably impressed with the motives of Philip. Nor did they have any new testimony to offer to the Sacramentarians beyond what had been written in public for ten years. The Lutheran theologians also apprehended in advance the malignant judgment which would arise among their adversaries if the conference — as it was bound to do — ended in discord. Through the "impetuous importuning" of the landgrave, Luther and Melanchthon "finally were compelled to promise" that they would attend the conference. (Comp. Luther's letter to Johann Brismann at Riga. St. L. ed. XXI a, 1339.) Their letter of acceptance to the margrave concludes: "May the Father of all mercy and unity grant His Holy Spirit in order that we do not meet in vain, but rather with benefit, and in no wise with evil results." (St. L. ed. XXI a, 1326. Comp. XXI a, 1935. 1937 ff.)

After they had accepted the invitation, however, both Luther and Melanchthon did their utmost to win the Zwinglians, and thus to prevent the very failure which they predicted.

By Friday, October 1, 1529, the chief representatives of both parties had reached Marburg, and were received by the landgrave with great kindness. At first he had placed his guests in comfortable quarters of the city. He then changed his mind and made them all his personal, intimate

guests at his castle. These were Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Hedio, and the laymen Jacob Sturm, Ulrich Funk, and Rudolf Frey, all influential citizens of their respective communities; then Luther, Melanchthon, Johann Brenz, Justus Jonas, Andreas Osiander, Stephan Agricola, Caspar Cruciger, Friedrich Myconius, Justus Menius, and the layman Eberhard von der Tann. The conference attracted many visitors to Marburg from Cologne, Strassburg, Basel, and other places. Very few besides those already mentioned were able to gain access to the interior chamber, which adjoined the office of the landgrave. Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingli and Oecolampadius, were seated at a table, in front of which sat the landgrave and his attendants.

No agreement having been reached in a private discussion held on the previous day, the debate was now resumed before the small assembly and the landgrave. As to the *tenor* of the debate, a witness wrote later on: "One might have considered Luther and Zwingli brethren instead of opponents. Once only did Luther show some excitement, when Zwingli provokingly remarked that the passage in John 6: 'The flesh profiteth nothing,' must 'break Luther's neck.' As to *arguments,* the debate was at no time carried beyond what had been laid down in the public writings of both parts."

For almost two days Oecolampadius emphasized his old argument: that Christ has a true body, which is in heaven; no true body could be at many places at the same time. He also spent much time with the sixth chapter of John, concerning the spiritual eating and drinking of the Lord's body and blood, attempting to identify the same with the eating and drinking in the Sacrament.

The Zwinglians tortured John 6, 63: "The flesh profiteth nothing," as an argument against the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament. It amounted to blasphemy when they referred these words of Christ to the flesh of *Jesus;* for the context plainly shows that *man's* flesh is meant, which profits nothing in *spiritual* matters.

Luther made it very plain that there was no connection, much less a contradiction, between John 6, 63 and the words

of the Sacrament. And pointing to the text, "This is My body," which he had written on the table before him, Luther explained: "Leave it to the almighty God-man Christ *how* He effects His presence with the sacramental bread and wine at so many places and at the same time. What He promises He can and will do, for He is truthful. There are some human attributes wherein Christ did not make Himself like unto man; for instance, Christ had no wife. There are other attributes wherein He far surpasses all men, powers which no man can have in common with Christ, for instance, that His exalted true human nature takes part in the omnipresence of the divine nature."

On Sunday, May 3, Luther preached the early morning sermon. He did not make a single reference to the pending controversy, but preached about forgiveness of sins, justification by faith (the "*Material*prinzip" of the Reformation). To ignore all discord at that hour showed great tact and gentleness on the part of Luther. Making justification by faith his theme, he also clearly revealed what article of the Christian faith was paramount in his heart and in his theology.

The debate was resumed after service, and carried into the afternoon, yea, into eventide. As all hopes of agreement vanished, *Zwingli asked with tears that they should nevertheless be accepted as brethren in the faith.* It was then that Luther refused the proffered hand of fellowship, supporting his action by the sentence, now famous: *"Yours is a different spirit from ours."* And *Melanchthon heartily agreed with Luther* in such refusal of a union without unity. He wrote to John Agricola: "They pleaded intensely that they should be called brethren by us. Behold the inconsistency! They condemn us, and yet desire to be considered our brethren. To this we did not care to consent." (St. L. ed. XVII, 1956.)

Still some agreement was reached. It may be surmised from a letter of Luther to the same Agricola: "But we did extend to them the hand of peace and love, that acrimonious articles and words should be omitted, and that every one

should teach his opinion without hostile attacks, not, however, without proof and disproof (nicht ohne Verteidigung und Widerlegung). Thus we parted."

Before they parted, *Luther formulated articles* to show how far, after all, they had come to an agreement in other respects, and just where the difference remained in the doctrine of the Eucharist. The landgrave had been the most earnest listener at all sessions. He is said to have remarked in public, "Now will I rather believe the plain words of Christ than the clever thoughts of men." (St. L. ed. XVII, 1950.) It was the landgrave who prevailed upon Luther to formulate those final articles. There were fifteen in all (not only fourteen; comp. St. L. ed. XVII, 1943), and they were signed by Martin Luther, Philippus Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, Andreas Osiander, Johannes Brentius, Stephanus Agricola, Johannes Oecolampadius, Ulricus Zwinglius, Martin Bucerus, Caspar Hedio.

At this time both Luther and Melanchthon were more hopeful regarding the Swiss theologians than at any previous time.

Luther wrote to John Agricola: "In short, they are untrained people and inexperienced in debate. Though aware that their sayings proved nothing, they would nevertheless not give in as to this one article; and this (as we are convinced) more from fear and shame than from malice. In all other points they yielded, as you will see from the placard sent forth." (St. L. ed. XVII, 1955.)

To Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg Luther wrote: "In short, these people do not appear to be malicious; they have fallen into this notion by error and accident, and would gladly be extricated therefrom, if it could be done." (XVII, 1958.)

Melanchthon to John Agricola: "I am perfectly convinced that if the matter had not yet gone so far (wenn die Sache noch nicht eingebrockt waere), they would not enact such a great tragedy." (XVII, 1956.)

From the pulpit at Wittenberg Luther gave information to the congregation about the Marburg Conference: "We

have suffered no harm on the way; therein God has heard your prayers, for which you should thank Him. Furthermore, our opponents have shown themselves very friendly and polite, more so than we anticipated. They admit that one receives faith and consolation in the Sacrament, but that the very body and blood should truly be there they cannot believe as yet. And this much we felt that they would have given in if the matter rested entirely with themselves. Since they, however, had a definite order from their people, they could not back down. They do not deny that the true body and blood of Christ are present, which, therefore, sounds as though they were with us. They admit that those attending the Supper truly partake of the body and blood of Christ, but *spiritually only,* so as to have Christ in the heart. Bodily eating they will not admit; that we have left to their conscience. *Therefore the matter is very hopeful.* I do not say that there exists a fraternal union, but a benevolent friendly harmony, so they will seek from us in a friendly manner what they lack, and we, on the other hand, be of service to them. If you will all pray diligently, the friendly harmony may ripen into a fraternal *union.*" (Junius, *Com. Seck.,* Vol. 2, p. 244.)

All these quotations certainly breathe an *admirable spirit of mildness, patience, and charity on Luther's part.* The critics of Luther at Marburg — several of whom we have quoted at the outset — have not sought, much less considered, all the material which has a bearing on the subject.

At the same time these quotations show that *Luther made no compromise with error on any terms.* Therein his spirit stands in clear contrast to that of Zwingli and his adherents, especially the wabbling "peacemakers from Strassburg, Capito and Bucer." In refusing church-fellowship to the Sacramentarians, Luther's heart was perfectly at ease, and his mind cheerful, much as he abhorred discord in the visible Church. He said: "But our text is certain that it shall and must stand as the words read; for God Himself has thus placed it, and nobody durst take away or add a single letter. Fourthly, you know that they [the Sacra-

mentarians] disagree, and they make conflicting texts out of the words. As a result, they are not only *uncertain,* — which alone would be enough of the devil, — but are *against each other,* and must accuse each other of lying. But our text is not only certain, it is one, and plain, and harmonious among all of us. Fifthly, granted that our text and interpretation be as uncertain and dark as their text and interpretation (which, of course, it is not), you nevertheless have the glorious, defiant (trotzig) advantage that you can with good conscience stand on our text and speak thus: If I shall and must have a dark text and interpretation, I will rather have the one spoken by the lips of God Himself than the one which proceeds from the mouth of man. And if I should be deceived, I would rather be deceived by God (if such were possible) than by men; for if God deceives me, He will render an account and repay me. But men cannot repay me (Wiedererstattung tun), after they have defrauded me and have led me into hell. Such defiance the Sacramentarians cannot have, for they could not say: I will rather stand on the double text of Zwingli and Oecolampadius than on the single text of Christ. Hence *you* can cheerfully say to Christ, both on your deathbed and on Judgment Day: My dear Lord Jesus Christ, a quarrel arose about Thy words in the Sacrament: some would have them understood differently from what they say. However, since those men offer me nothing certain, but only confuse and perplex me, and since they neither attempt nor succeed in proving their text, I remained upon Thy text, as the words read. If there is anything dark in them, then Thou wantedst them to be so dark; for Thou hast neither given any other enlightenment concerning them, nor commanded any to be given." (Erl. ed. 30, 302.)

All Reformed church-bodies look back to Zwingli as their founder. His wrong doctrine is characteristic of all Protestant bodies outside of the Lutheran Church. Of the same spirit with Zwingli and Oecolampadius, and especially with the "peacemakers from Strassburg," are all churchmen, no matter under what name they may sally forth, who favor

church union and cooperation in the Lord's work without unity of faith.

What Zwingli and Oecolampadius and the peacemakers from Strassburg desired was practised, for instance, just one hundred years ago, at the third centenary celebration of the Reformation. King Frederick William III united the Reformed and the Lutherans at Potsdam into one congregation, naming it the "Evangelical Christian Church." He received the Lord's Supper under an ambiguous formula, designed to please the Reformed and the Lutheran communicants. Aye, he appealed to all Protestant churches in the land that they follow his example. Such unification of the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, brought about by simply ignoring the differential doctrines of both, did not find favor with all subjects of Frederick William III. As yet there were many pastors and laymen that were imbued with the spirit of Luther. They were made to suffer for their conviction. The events of those days stand as monuments to the "spirit different from ours."

The most prominent "peacemakers from Strassburg" in our country are probably the pastors of the *Evangelical Synod of North America.* The confessional paragraph in the constitution of that synod is notorious as an exhibition of religious indifference. Paragraph 2 approves of the interpretation of Holy Writ as laid down in the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church *and* of the Reformed Church, as far as they agree with each other. Wherein they do not agree, the synod intends to hold to the Scripture-passages pertaining to such differential doctrines, making use, however, of the liberty of conscience prevailing in the Evangelical Church. At all the altars of the churches belonging to this synod the Reformed and the Lutheran communicants are equally welcome. Let the pastors of such churches ponder the words of Luther, whom they praise so frequently: "I am unspeakably shocked to hear that both parts should seek and obtain the same Sacrament in the same church, at the same altar; and one part is to believe that he receives bread and wine only, the other part, that he partakes of the true body

and blood of Christ. And I often doubt whether one dare believe that a preacher or pastor (Seelsorger) could be so hardened (verstockt) and so malicious to be silent about this, and let each part go on, all of them imagining that they are receiving the same Sacrament, each according to his faith. But if there is such a one, he must be possessed of a heart which is harder than stone, steel, or diamond; yea, he must be an apostle of wrath. Far better than these are the Turks and Jews, who deny our Sacrament, and freely admit it; for by these we certainly remain undeceived, and thus do not fall into idolatry. But these fellows must be the right high archdevils that give me only bread and wine, but cause me to believe that I am receiving the body and blood of Christ, thus lamentably deceiving me. . . . Therefore, whosoever has such a preacher, or suspects his preacher to be such a man, is hereby warned against him as against the very devil himself." (St. L. ed. XVII, 2016.)

The *spirit* of the Zwinglians and of the Strassburg peacemakers — frivolous treatment of Scripture-passages; twisting of the text to meet the demands of human reasoning; tendency to unite by ignoring doctrinal differences, or finding formulas pleasing both parts — this "spirit so different" from that of Luther and his colaborers, is seeking entrance into each and every Lutheran synod or congregation, no matter how firmly they may have formerly held to the tenets of our dear Church.

Let us beware!

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Luther the Faithful Confessor of Christ.

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All men may be divided as follows: such as know nothing of Christ, hence cannot confess Him; such as know of Christ, but reject and deny Him; and such as truly believe in Christ, and therefore alone are able and also willing to confess Him before men. And just such confession they should look upon as their sacred calling, their supreme duty, and their most noble privilege. For to confess Christ is but a solemn way of preaching the sweet Gospel of Christ. "Whosoever," says Christ, "shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father which is in heaven." (Matt. 10, 32.) Accordingly, it is the clear and unmistakable will of God that Christians must not be satisfied with knowing Christ in their minds, believing on Him in their hearts, and acknowledging Him before God in their secret prayers, but should also confess Him and His Gospel with their mouths and lives before men in the world surrounding them. This holds good not only with respect to the apostles and disciples of the early Church, but to Christians of every age and place and time. And the Lord urges this noble Christian privilege in phrases both solemnly serious and kindly promising. Why? Because Jesus knows what courage it requires for Christians to face the world especially in times of persecution. True Christian courage, even among Christians, — what a rare article it is! But the Holy Spirit enables and prompts us to do joyously that which our carnal nature abhors. Indeed, wherever and whenever needed, wonderful heroes are given by God to His Church, undaunted witnesses and bold confessors of Christ. Among the bravest and most courageous were the apostles, especially Peter and Paul, the martyrs of pagan Rome and of papal Rome, and many other heroic witnesses, down to the present day. The man, however, who courageously confessed Christ as few before and no one after him is none other than Dr. Martin Luther, whose sacred memory we celebrate with praises and thanksgivings to God, who made Luther what he was, blessed

him, and made him a blessing to millions. When asked what Luther was and did to celebrate his memory, no better answer can be given than the one suggested by the words of Jesus, quoted above: Luther confessed his Savior before men; he was a faithful and most courageous witness of Christ. And this is not a mere assertion of mine, but plainly borne out by the facts of the Reformation history.

1. *Where did Luther confess Christ?* — Wherever he stood and spoke, in private and in public, before high and low, before friend and foe, before individuals and great multitudes. Luther confessed his Savior in his own home before his wife and children, his servants and visitors, and especially in his daily talk before the numerous guests at his table. Luther confessed Christ in his theological chair at Wittenberg, lecturing for more than thirty years before thousands of students from all parts of Europe. Luther confessed Christ in numerous pulpits of Saxony and other places, especially in the two churches of Wittenberg. Luther confessed Christ before the common people, before students, professors, and learned doctors, before burgomasters, princes, electors, and kings. Luther confessed Christ in innumerable letters, in countless sermons, in numberless lectures. Luther confessed Christ in his Latin books before the doctors of the European universities, in his German writings, especially in his translation of the Bible, before the German nation, and practically before all Europe (France, Spain, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England) in translations of his books, and through scholars trained in Wittenberg University. Indeed, Luther, as no man after him, was a wonderful witness for Christ.

2. *When did Luther confess Christ?* — From the day the great Gospel-truth, "The just shall live by faith," dawned on him, till his last prayer at Eisleben, "Thou hast redeemeed me, O faithful God," Luther never for a moment ceased to glorify his Savior. However, many a red-letter day rises skyward as a mountain peak of bold confession in the wonderful life of Luther. When he, on the 31st of October, 1517, nailed the Ninety-five Theses on the door of the Castle

Church in Wittenberg, that was a powerful confession, which reverberated in all Europe. And when, in 1517 and again in 1518, Luther, before the legates of the pope, solemnly refused to recant and deny the truths which he had proclaimed, that, too, was a bold confession of Christ. Again, in 1519, in his disputation with Dr. Eck, Luther confessed Christ and His truth when he, with startling openness and boldness, declared, "I neither believe the pope, nor the church-councils, nor the Fathers, but the inspired Word of God alone." Another bold confession of Christ it was when Luther, in 1521, on his way to Worms, entreated by the people to return to Wittenberg, declared that he would go and confess his Master in spite of devils as numerous in Worms as the tiles on its roofs. And when, on the memorable 18th day of April, Luther, at the diet of Worms, stood and spoke before the Emperor, the nobles and dignitaries of the realm, and closed his solemn refusal to recant and deny Christ with the words, "Here I stand, I cannot otherwise; God help me, Amen," the great Reformer had reached the Alpine peak of Christian confession before men. And many other momentous days of noble confession, *e. g.,* in 1529, at Marburg; in 1530, at Augsburg; in 1537, at Smalcald, — days too numerous to describe, — grace the life of Luther, who was, indeed, a great confessor and a most courageous witness of Christ.

3. *And what did Luther confess of Christ?* — He confessed that Christ is the only and perfect Savior of the human race. The Romanists urged men to save themselves, to reconcile God, win His favor and earn His pardon by their own efforts, rosaries, works, and penances; they glorified man and denied Christ and His salvation. Luther, however, denouncing all this as heathenish, and preaching the Gospel of pure grace, the Gospel of reconciliation with God already accomplished, of pardon already earned and fully granted, of the justification of the whole world already proclaimed, and hence the Gospel of complete salvation, not by works of our own, but by grace and faith only, — Luther, preaching thus, confessed Christ to be our perfect and only

Savior. The Romanists, persuading the people to trust in the sacrificial mass of priests, in the intercession of saints, and in papal indulgences, glorified man, the priest and his work, and denied Christ and His sacrifice. Luther, however, condemning all this as sacrilegious, and urging men to confide in the perfect obedience and in the holy, innocent sacrifice of Mount Calvary, victoriously proclaimed Christ to be our only High Priest, and His death as the only atoning sacrifice. The Romanists, compelling the people, in blind faith, to follow the pope and obey the hierarchy, raged and rebelled against, and rejected, Christ, and in His stead established and adored the great Antichrist. Luther, however, condemning all this as antichristian idolatry, and persuading men to listen to, believe in, and follow, the divine voice of the Gospel and the inspired Word of God in the Bible alone, triumphantly confessed Christ to be our only Head and Master, our only Prophet and King. Indeed, the Romanists, even as millions of false Christians to-day, flaunted the name of Christ and His cross, but disgraced, dishonored, rejected, condemned, and crucified the Christ of the Gospel. Luther, however, glorified the true Christ, not Christ the new Lawgiver, not Christ the Judge, not Christ the wise Jewish Rabbi, not Christ the great Social Reformer, not Christ the wonderful Healer, not Christ the great Miracle Man, not Christ the Pacificist, not Christ the Millennialist, not Christ the Ethical Culturist, — but the real Christ, the Christ of the Bible, of the Gospel; the Christ who died because of our transgressions, and rose again for our justification; the Christ who made God our dear Father, and caused Him to pour out His love, grace, and pardon on a godless world of lost, condemned, and helpless sinners. Luther was a faithful witness of Christ; before a world of foes he confessed Him to be our perfect and only Savior, our only Prophet, Priest, and King.

4. *What other truths did Luther confess?* — Space permits us to mention a few only. Luther protested against the Roman claim that the pope is the head of the Church, and he confessed the truth, "One is your Master, even Christ;

and all ye are brethren" (Matt. 23, 8). Luther protested against the yoke of bondage and against the commandments of men with which the Roman hierarchy loaded down the laity, and he proclaimed the spiritual freedom of Christians, and urged them "to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage" (Gal. 5, 1). Luther, protesting against the godless vow of celibacy, proclaimed wedlock to be a divine ordinance, and in 1525 confirmed his testimony by his own marriage, in his day an act of singular boldness and true Christian heroism. Luther protested against the idolatry of serving and adoring Mary, the saints, and their relics, and he stood by the word of Christ, "Thou shalt worship the Lord, thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve" (Matt. 4, 10). Luther protested against the Roman Mass as a sacrifice for the living and the dead, and confessed the fundamental Christian truth that Christ by one offering has perfected forever them that are sanctified (Heb. 10, 14). Luther protested against the awful Roman doctrine of the purgatory, and he confessed the sweet Christian truth, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth" (Rev. 14, 13). Luther protested against the Roman doctrine and awful practise of persecuting and burning heretics, and he confessed the truth which did away with horrors unspeakable, *viz.,* that the only weapon of the Church is conviction by the sword of the Spirit, the Word of God. Luther protested against the arrogant claim that kings, princes, and all governments are subject to, receive their power from, and owe obedience to, the pope, and he confessed the great principle of the absolute division and separation of State and Church, and that in matters temporal, and not conflicting with conscience, the pope and priest as well as all other citizens are subject to Caesar. In a similar manner Luther championed truth and fought error wherever he met it. He was a faithful witness of Christ.

5. *How did Luther confess these truths?* — Genuine confession is the unison of heart and mouth and life; and Luther confessed Christ in this way. His confession came from the

deepest depths of his heart, as the spirit of his prayers and writings testify. In veritable streams of words, spoken and written, Luther confessed Christ with his tongue and pen. And what Luther confessed in words he also acted, bringing his whole life into agreement with the sentiments of his heart and speech. Indeed, Romanists, unable to refute his doctrines, have for centuries resorted to vilifying Luther and besmirching his good name. But, although Luther's life was for decades an open book, daily read, as never the life of a man before or after him, by everybody in Wittenberg, foe as well as friend, yet the traducers of Luther have not been able to produce as much as a single competent and trustworthy witness against him. Luther lived what he preached. The whole Luther, his heart, his word, his life, was a chord ringing harmoniously in the confession of Christ. And this confession was rendered with the efficiency of a chosen vessel of God, with wonderful ability in everything required for such a task in a world of enemies, with consummate skill in the use especially of the German language, and with rare wisdom of suiting his words and actions to the ever shifting situation. And withal, Luther revealed a bold disregard of his own safety, and a self-sacrifice which made him a martyr a hundred times over. Luther was accustomed to saying that he would have his body torn into a thousand pieces rather than deny Christ and His Gospel, rather than acknowledge the pope and his infamous dogmas. And this was not a mere bluff. From 1517 to 1546, for more than 10,000 days, Luther attended to his daily vocation in Wittenberg with ever increasing boldness in his testimony, and with absolute disregard of the papal and imperial ban, and the fury of his numerous enemies. Till his very last breath Luther never for a moment lacked the supreme courage which he showed at Worms in 1521, and which even the unbelieving world never ceases to admire. How, then, did Luther confess Christ? We answer: Courageously, perseveringly, efficiently, consistently. Ah, yes, Luther did confess his Master!

6. *What moved Luther thus to confess his Savior?* —

Luther answered that question himself at Worms, when he declared, "I cannot otherwise; I cannot help it; I must confess!" That is what the fire would say when asked why it burns; the sun, why he shines. It was Luther's nature, his Christian nature, to confess his Savior. Luther in his own heart had experienced the terrors of the Law and the quickening sweetness of Christ and His Gospel; hence he cried, "I cannot otherwise; I must confess my dear Savior; my heart is full of Him!" And being a Christian, Luther also had a quickened conscience. When his enemies cried, "You are a heretic, — recant; you are a rebel, — submit yourself; you are damned and cursed by the pope, — repent," Luther did but — could but — answer, "I cannot otherwise; I must confess. I would stand condemned by my own conscience, condemned by my God, ah, yes, condemned and rejected and denied by Christ, if I should refuse to confess Him whom I know to be my Savior, and refuse to proclaim the Gospel which I know to be the only truth. Warned by my conscience, I cannot otherwise; I must give testimony to Christ and His truth." And deep in the heart of Luther there was that burning fire of love for his fellow-men, especially for his own dear Germans. "For my Germans," said Luther, "I was born; them will I serve." Beholding the abject slavery of his fellow-men, and realizing how the Roman hierarchy had taken possession of their property, their family, their body, their soul, their heart, their mind, and their very conscience, Luther, moved by compassion, cried out, "I cannot otherwise, love constrains me; I must confess; I must deliver them from bondage. The Gospel and the liberty which made me free and happy I must give to my fellow-men." To save and deliver, to bless and enrich, his fellow-men, such was the motive that moved and impelled Luther to sacrifice himself in the confession of Christ and in the proclamation of His Gospel. Luther confessed his Savior.

7. *And how was Luther confessed and acknowledged by Christ?* — Being a faithful confessor, Luther had, according to the words quoted above, been promised by Christ: "I will

confess you before My Father which is in heaven." And Jesus fulfilled this promise by giving Luther a blessed death, by crowning him with the crown of life, and by leading him to his eternal reward at the hands of His heavenly Father. Jesus kept His promise; and He did more. He confessed Luther also before men, even during his life, and down to the present day. Christ blessed Luther, and made him a blessing to many. He crowned his testimony with a wonderful success, such as was granted to no other man since the days of the apostles. The effects of Luther's confession were felt far beyond the boundaries of Germany, in Denmark, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, England, Scotland, France, Spain, Italy; and to-day they are apparent in all Europe and beyond, especially in America. Jesus confessed Luther before men! And when Antichrist made determined efforts to root out Lutheranism in the Smalcald War of 1547; when in all Catholic countries the terrible inquisitions sought their victims by the thousands; when Lutherans were publicly burned at *auto-da-fés;* when wholesale slaughters of Protestants were inaugurated in Holland, France, and England; and when, in a final mad effort, the Jesuits kindled the Thirty Years' War in order to annihilate Protestantism, —then Jesus, rising from the throne of majesty, stretched forth His protecting hand over the work of Luther, with the marvelous result that to-day 160 millions of Protestants the world over, directly or indirectly, trace their origin to Luther and his Reformation. Jesus did confess Luther! Indeed, the innumerable Reformation festivals celebrated every year all over the globe, what are they but public confessions and approvals granted by our Savior to Luther and his work? In this year of jubilee the world is witnessing a celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's first public confession of Christ in 1517, as was never witnessed before! No, Jesus did not fail to confess His faithful servant, neither before men nor before His heavenly Father. Indeed, we, too, are glad and proud to be among the hosts whom God has blessed through Luther. Yea, as members of the Missouri Synod and the Synodical Conference, we are

among the most blessed of all the children of the Reformation, for we are entrusted with the Gospel as preached in its original purity by Luther. And richly blessing this testimony of the Gospel among us, God has thereby, also in our own midst, crowned Luther and his work. The Synodical Conference is a twig in the crown of glory which Christ has placed upon the head of His faithful servant and bold confessor, Dr. M. Luther.

8. *Finally, how should all this affect us?* — Well, we are Lutherans and should follow Luther's example. From the Word of God we are convinced that the Gospel which Luther confessed is the eternal truth of God. And if it be true that one iota of the Bible shall not pass away, then Luther's doctrine pure, drawn, as it is, from the Bible, cannot perish. Hence it must be our privilege and duty to continue in these truths, to guard them from corruption, and to confess them, even as Luther did, and from the same motives. Continuing in, and confessing, these truths, we must also protest against all errors, such also as may originate within our own Lutheran churches. Continuing in these truths, we must oppose the false doctrines emanating from the numerous Protestant sects. Confessing our Christian creed, we must with all our heart condemn modern rationalism and liberalism, which for decades have been blasting the very foundations of our faith and torpedoing in mid-ocean the Ship of Christ, the Church of God. Above all, we dare not ignore the "old wicked Foe," that implacable, unscrupulous enemy of the pure Gospel of Christ and its confessors, — all the more so, because it is evidently the plan of Rome to regain in the New World what she has lost in the Old. "Romanize America, God wills it!" such is the war-cry of the Catholic hierarchy in America. And with great cunning and power, and in sheep's clothing, they endeavor to accomplish their sinister object. Rome has not changed! The Reformation has but hardened her heart against the truth, increased her cunning, and made her more guarded in her methods and modes of procedure. The Council of Trent reaffirmed all of Rome's arrogant claims and pernicious teachings, and anathematized the

Gospel with all its Protestant confessors. Down to the present day the sole authority of the Bible is rejected, and Bible-societies are cursed by Rome. In 1854, Pius IX, declaring the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, gave a renewed impetus to the idolatrous worship of Mary and the saints. And the same pontiff, in 1870, declaring the papal infallibility, capped the climax of Roman Antichristianity. Against all this we must continue to protest and confess the truth as Luther set the example. And the patriotic love which we owe to our country must constrain us to oppose all efforts of the Roman hierarchy at destroying our American liberties, abolishing the separation of State and Church, and politically establishing their sectarian churches and schools.

Such is the debt of gratitude which we owe for the Reformation. God blessed Luther that he, confessing Christ, might become a blessing to us. And God blessed us through Luther that we, in turn, confessing Christ, might be a blessing to others. And if, in faithfully confessing our Savior before men, we follow in the steps of Luther, Christ, who did not fail Luther, will assuredly not fail us in keeping the gracious promise: "Whosoever confesseth Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father which is in heaven." So be it! God grant it!

The Three Principles of the Reformation: Sola Scriptura, Sola Gratia, Sola Fides.

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The Reformation was not Luther's work, but God's work. None knew that better than Luther himself. "God's Word has been my sole study and concern, the sole subject of my preaching and writing. Other than this I have done nothing in the matter. This same Word has, while I slept or made merry, accomplished this great thing."

It was God's work, but God performed His work through Luther. None knew that better than the papists themselves,

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if they only would admit it. Boussuet, bishop of Meaux, admits it. "Luther is the trumpet, or rather he is the thunder, he is the lightning, which has aroused the world from its lethargy: it was not so much Luther that spoke as God, whose lightnings burst from his lips."

The divine truths which, voiced by Luther, awakened men from death (for only a Romanist will speak of a mere lethargy in this connection) were, first: *Sola Scriptura*. That was the reassuring answer given to the insistent cry of men: Who shall tell us the truth, God's truth, in the matter concerning our soul's salvation? The very first words of Luther spoken before the world at large proclaimed this principle. It found utterance in the opening words of the Ninety-Five Theses, "When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said —", and in their conclusion, "I am not so senseless as to be willing that the Word of God should be made to give place to fables, devised by human reason." Those were strange words for that day and generation. Men had been wont to say: When our lord and master at Rome says. Hus, indeed, had lifted his voice in protest a hundred years before, and Wyclif, too, before him; but the body of one and the bones of the other had to burn for it, and the deadly hold of Antichrist on the life of the Church had only tightened. But now Luther was raised up to declare, and to establish, too, for all times, that the question of indulgences and every other matter concerning our salvation was to be decided on no other basis than that of the saying of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ. Scripture is the only source of the saving doctrine. No man has authority to speak for God in these matters. What God says in the Scriptures, that and that alone is the truth. And the full truth. Nothing must be added to it, nothing taken from it. Not by the pope nor by any other creature. Poor human nature is bound to set up an authority of its own, and if it cannot be the pope, it shall be something else just as human. And so Erasmus and Zwingli began to inquire of reason for God's truth, and Muenzer and Schwenkfeld thought to dream spiritual dreams; and to this day men busy themselves in setting

up new authorities, or rather in labeling the old rejected authority with new labels, such as "the best thought of the day," "Christian thought and experience," "the Christian himself." But Luther would hear of no fables, devised by human reason. "Erasmus does not know the first principle, the basis and rule: Holy Scripture; God's Word must remain empress. You must follow straight after Scripture and receive it and utter not one syllable against it, for it is God's mouth." But if you exclude our profound reasonings and our sweet dreams, the Church will be deprived of some needful truth? The Smalcald Articles give answer at once and to the point: "God will not deal with us except through His external Word and Sacrament, and whatever proudly introduces itself as the Spirit instead of the Word and Sacrament is the very devil." There shall be no misunderstanding on this point: "Nothing else than the Word of God, not even an angel, shall establish articles of faith."

That uncompromising *sola* — "nothing else than" — is there for a purpose. Rome was ready with a compromise. She was willing to acknowledge the authority of Scripture and did not hesitate to extol the sanctity of the Bible. But it must be Scripture as interpreted by the Church, or the councils, or tradition, or the teachings of the fathers, meaning in every case the pope. So also Zwingli and the other dreamers of dreams: We declare the Scriptures to be the Word of God, a heavenly Word, a glorious Word, yea, the supreme authority. Our philosophy and our visions shall not and do not supplant, but only interpret Scripture. They serve to bring out its hidden glory. But Luther would have none of it. He knew that, if it were not Scripture solely, it would not be Scripture at all. If reason is not content to let Scripture stand as it is, its only purpose in amending is to strike out. Passing Scripture-truth through the channel of human reason is to divest it of its divine truth — else it will not pass through. The condition of theology in the schools of Rome demonstrated that. And so nothing else than the Word of God, not even what you are inclined

to look upon as a messenger from the very throne of God, shall establish articles of faith.

This meant, of course, that all articles so established must be received with unquestioning faith and upheld in the face of the opposition of an outraged world. Luther so understood it. They might rage; he would not retract one syllable. They hurled massive tomes of popish theology, reinforced with all the authority of the schoolmen, at him; he waved them aside, as not coming under the sola Scriptura. They sought to frighten him by identifying his principle with the condemned principle of Hus; as soon as he learned where Hus stood in this matter, he was glad to identify himself in this matter with the blessed martyr. At Worms they sought to impress him with all the awful authority of the Roman Empire — terrestrial and infernal Rome —; Luther had sworn allegiance to the Scriptures as the empress, and repeated the oath: "Unless I am convinced by the testimony of the Word of God or by clear and cogent reasons, as I cannot submit my faith to the pope nor to the councils, which have manifestly often erred and contradicted themselves, and as I am bound in conscience by the passages I have quoted, I cannot and will not retract anything." And all Zwingli's pleading for the authority of reason could not move this rock: "The text stands there too powerful." Sola Scriptura with Luther meant: "I place over against all sentences of the fathers and the artful words of all angels, men, and devils the Scripture and Gospel. Here I make my stand, here I utter my proud defiance. To me God's Word is above all, and the majesty of God is on my side."

Why did Luther insist on the sola Scriptura? Not because the matter was interesting to him as a mere academic question; he had no time for the discussion of mere academic questions. Nor was it because of some obstinate fiber in his character; where God's Word was not concerned, Luther was of all men most broad-minded. Why, if it pleased the Church, she might make an order that all clergymen should wear not one, but three surplices, and Luther

felt himself broad enough to don all three. Nor was it merely a question of morality. It is, indeed, the height of wickedness to permit human authority to usurp the place of the divine authority, and it is a crime against humanity to cause men to receive the opinion of any fellow-man as binding upon his conscience — in any matter, and most of all in the sacred province of faith. But these considerations come in later, inevitably and necessarily, but later. The chief and all-important consideration was that, in seeking the way of salvation, it is fatal to follow a human guide. For all men are liars — liars when they construct, liars when they reconstruct, the doctrine. Here is no room for man-made dogmas. God's truth alone will answer — "nothing but the Scriptures." And so Luther declared to the end, declared it in his last sermon preached in Wittenberg: "I shall swerve not one finger's breadth from the mouth of Him who said: "Hear ye Him."

Hearing Him and Him alone, Luther learned a glorious truth. Two words — and all Scripture was written for their sake —; two words — and all spiritual life, and so also the life of the Reformation, sprung from them —: *sola gratia.* They tell the despairing sinner that God, in His infinite mercy, has laid all the sins of the world on Jesus; that he is not required to bring about his salvation by his own works; that his sins are forgiven him freely, by grace. — Rome had established a different doctrine: Man is justified, wholly or in part, by his own merit. How firmly this damnable doctrine was established! Even the preaching of Hus and Wyclif was yet somewhat tainted with it. It pleases the natural man to be told that he can be his own savior. He was even willing, in the interest of human merit, to commit the vile abomination of having the pope sell him letters of pardon, because, forsooth, they were drawn on the surplus holiness deposited by the saints of Rome in Rome's keeping. And they who were not willing to accept this worthless paper were still ready to commit an abomination equally as vile: to offer God in heaven their own spurious holiness in payment for eternal salvation. Over against this natural prin-

ciple Luther declared: "The true treasure of the Church is the holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God." (Thesis 62.) It formed the burden of all his teaching, as it is the heart of Scripture: "Grace brings about this great thing that we are accounted wholly and fully just before God."

Luther and his fellow-laborers knew the supreme importance of this article, and no power in earth and hell cou'd move them to yield it. "Let us, therefore, hold it for certain and firmly established that the soul can do without everything except the Word of God, the Gospel concerning His Son, incarnate, suffering, risen, and glorified." Under the principle of justification through self-righteousness Luther had been groping in darkness, sinking into despair; but when the principle of justification by faith lodged in his soul, "then the whole Scripture was opened to me and also heaven itself. Immediately I felt as if born anew, as if I had found the open gate of paradise." How could they yield this glorious truth? Unless we obtain, says the Apology, remission of sin through Christ, there can be no remission, for if salvation be by the Law, the whole Law must be kept; but pious souls know they cannot keep the law; and there is nothing left but despair. So when all pious souls implored them to stand fast, they gave answer in the Smalcald Articles: "Whatever may happen, though heaven and earth should fall, nothing in this article can be yielded or rescinded. (Acts 4, 2; Is. 53, 3.) We must, therefore, be entirely certain of this and not doubt it, otherwise all will be lost, and the devil and our opponents will prevail and obtain the victory."

Nothing in this article can be yielded. Here was Rome offering another compromise. She was ready to make copious use of the word grace, but the *sola* must be yielded, and a place, be it ever so small, granted to human merit. But Luther stood out for the *sola*. If our justification depends on one single good work, our case is hopeless, for that one good work will ever be lacking, and the honest soul knows it to its despair. Nor would Luther suffer the man of sin to belie the glorious riches of the grace of God by denying

that God is willing to do it all. "Grace will not be halved nor quartered, but receives us wholly and completely into favor." Luther knew, as Augustine knew before him, that grace is not grace in any way, if it be not freely (*gratis*) given in every way, and he knew that the pope knew it, too. To compromise on the pope's terms meant, here as always, a complete surrender to him. He stood for justification through works alone. He knew that if one good work were granted to corrupt nature, all good works would have to be granted; again, that if men were permitted to think of works in connection with grace, they would think of works alone and of grace not at all. He did, indeed, diligently use the word grace and even consented to describe the merit of Christ as superabundant, but not only did he make the efficacy of this superabundance dependent on human worthiness, thus subtracting one half from grace, and so leaving nothing of grace, he also deliberately divested the word grace of its Scriptural meaning, and gave it the meaning of human holiness. No doubt, on these terms he was ready to make diligent use of the word grace. It did not take Melanchthon long to see through the trickery, and he indignantly exclaimed: "The fool" (meaning Eck, Rome's emissary) "does not understand the word grace." And in order to make him understand, *sola* was put in. It had to be either the principle of Rome: Justification through human merit alone, or the principle of Scripture: Justification by grace alone.

And that means: Salvation by grace alone, salvation in every respect, from beginning to end. When a man once sincerely accepts the article of justification by grace alone, what happens? "This one article rules my heart, namely, faith in Christ, out of which by day and night all my theological thoughts flow, by which they move, to which they return." Now he sees grace everywhere. For "now the whole Scripture was opened to me." And Scripture, you know, does not halve nor quarter grace. If grace is anywhere, it is everywhere. Men are willing to speak of justification by grace alone, but they restrict grace to that one point. But if a man is not absolutely in need of grace in

conversion, he does not absolutely need it in justification. Therefore Luther rejected and condemned "as erroneous all doctrines which extol our free will, as they are directly opposed to the aid and grace of our Savior Jesus Christ." And the Formula of Concord adds the indorsement: "The Holy Scriptures ascribe man's conversion, faith in Christ, regeneration, renovation, and all that pertains to the actual commencement and accomplishment of them, not to the human powers of the natural free will, either as to the whole or the half or the least or most insignificant part, but *in solidum,* that is, wholly and entirely, to the divine operation." You cannot deny grace at one point, and trust in it at another; and he who waits to be converted without grace, will never reach justification by grace. All theological thoughts of the Reformation had but one source: *sola gratia.* We love the word and pronounce it at every step of our salvation.

Sola gratia and sola Scriptura go together. Witness the pope and Erasmus and the rest — because they held the sola gratia in abomination, they detested the sola Scriptura. And because justification by grace is not found in any human authority, God gave us the Scriptures. If we yield the sola Scriptura, we lose the sola gratia. And the more we love the article of justification by grace, the more we despise — in this matter — all human authority.

In order to uphold the sola gratia, it became necessary to emphasize another truth: *sola fides.* To us it is very clear that a free promise requires only acceptance, that is, faith, and excludes payments, that is, works, — considered as payment. Justification by grace means, and can only mean, justification through faith. But the perversion of Rome made it necessary to emphasize it, and Luther always did it. "To preach Christ is to justify the soul and to save it, if it believe the preaching. — For the Word of God cannot be received and honored by any works, but by faith alone. Hence it is clear that as the soul needs the Word alone for faith and justification, so it is justified by faith alone, and not by any works."

There is that Lutheran *sola* again. There was nothing to be gotten from this man Luther. And how they hated his spiritual insight and resultant "obstinacy"! We hear the plaint of the pope's man, Cajetan: "I have no desire to dispute further with this beast, for he has penetrating eyes, and wonderful thoughts revolve in his head." — Here Antichrist was making his last stand. If he could establish the position that man is justified not alone by faith, but also by works, he would win, for it would then no longer be grace in every respect and so not grace at all. And Luther had penetrating eyes, and knew there could be no joyful acceptance of the promise, no spiritual life, no Reformation, without these four letters: *sola*. When he, therefore, preached on justification, he would read the text in this wise: "We conclude that a man is justified by faith alone, without the deeds of the Law." Rome moved heaven and earth to have that anti-Roman "alone" stricken out, and even spoke of forgery, but Luther patiently explained to them that the word always was there, plain to the Christian eye, and that merely because of their blindness it had to be written large. To strike it out would mean the elimination of faith. For, as above, give man one little work to look at, and he will see nothing else; pride will take the place of faith, and shortly despair will take the place of pride. Also Luther's penetrating eyes saw at once that Rome's object was to make it not faith *and* works, but works alone. For that purpose the word faith was given a new meaning, and they tried to impose on Melanchthon with their new word. But Luther told him: "You write that you have forced Eck to admit that we are justified by faith. I wish you had forced him not to lie." In the Roman dictionary faith now means something which receives its value from works. It justifies because it leads men to keep the Ten Commandments. There faith and works are synonyms. Melanchthon, of course, could not force Eck not to lie, but the thing to do in such a case he did do: he fully exposed, in the Apology, the lie, the "sophistry fabricated by these ungodly men." And so it remained sola fide, and so the sola gratia was established, and so the Reformation pursued its divine way.

Faith alone, but faith indeed. It became the business of the Reformation to teach men to believe, that is, to appropriate, every man to himself, the promise of the Gospel with joyful confidence. In the old shameful days men had been led to think they had faith when they gave an unthinking assent to whatever it pleased the priest to tell them, and the priest did not even have to tell them exactly what it was, and men were warned against being certain of their salvation as against wicked presumptuousness. If once living faith took the place of this ignorant, doubting, dead "faith," the rule of Rome was doomed. So Cajetan had orders, right in the beginning, to induce Luther to retract the statement that a person desiring to receive the Sacrament of the Altar must have faith of his own. But what Rome hated above all things Luther prized above all things. He knew that the Word of promise calls for undoubting faith, and he knew that only in faith there is life and joy and holiness, and, what is more, he knew that, where this promise is preached, "faith is always and ever called forth and nourished."

So when after the days of Augsburg an imperial edict forbade under pain of death the preaching of justification by faith alone, as subversive of all decency, Luther published an edict of his own, which provided: "Whereas Satan will not refrain nor desist from blaspheming this chief article, therefore I, Dr. Martinus Luther, our Lord Jesus Christ's unworthy evangelist, do say and pronounce that this article shall stand and abide in spite of the Roman Emperor, the Tartar Emperor, the Persian Emperor, the pope, all cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, kings, princes, all the world together with all evil spirits." He established further in this Lutheran edict that this faith which alone justifies alone produces that godly life which Rome had succeeded in completely destroying in her domain. And then he bids defiance to them all: "That is our doctrine, and so teaches the Holy Ghost and the whole Christian Church, and therein we shall abide in the name of God. Amen."

There is no question that this article: salvation by grace through faith as taught by the Scriptures, is the essence of

Luther's teaching. We have Rome's testimony to that effect. Why else did she order all of his books to be burned?

And these six words — sola Scriptura, sola gratia, sola fides — gave new life to the dying Church. There can be no question about that either. Some few would like to question it. They say the Reformation was the result of the natural development of the nations. The Reformation, so strongly denying the existence of any spiritual insight and strength in man, and yet the outgrowth of this same spiritual insight, — how can one so shamelessly repudiate one's parent?! No. Whatever development was going on was ever made to serve the purposes of the master-mind at Rome. Emperors opposed him; he deposed them, or, what answered the same purpose, allied himself with them and made the secular power his handmaiden. The general councils met and deeply deliberated; he had them assert as strongly as possible his principle of salvation by works, meanwhile suffering them to play awhile with big words, — "supreme authority of the councils," — knowing full well that poor mankind will rather submit to one great man than to many small men. But humanism — learning, — classic learning at that, — fine thoughts, and the ideals of antiquity? Why, Leo X himself was an ideal humanist — and an ideal pope. But, surely, when reason, cold, pitiless reason, took up the fight, and men began to think, and to think very seriously, they would break the disgraceful fetters? Well, the schoolmen of old were as great thinkers as any, and they could think of nothing but human merit; and the rationalists of a later day, the reasoners *par excellence,* reasoned out nothing but Pelagianism. Sinful man can think only in terms of self-righteousness, and all the progress he makes consists in inventing new terms, which are equivalent to the old ones, and serve a reactionary purpose. Human forces did not bring about the Reformation. There Satan was at the helm.

No, God did it, — God's Word, — this truth: salvation by grace, through faith as taught by the Scriptures.

It needed a preacher, indeed, and it made a preacher unto itself. Luther did not form the principles of the

Reformation, but these principles formed Luther. There he was, clinging to the deadly principle of self-righteousness, cringing before the authority of the false Church, till the heavenly truth of salvation by grace, through faith as taught by the Scriptures made its way into his heart, and conquered him, and opened the gates of Paradise unto him. Thus he learned the one needful truth, and this same truth made of him a fit preacher of it. A zealous preacher; his heart burned with fierce indignation against those who were leading his brothers to despair, with a consuming desire to give them the sweet tidings of salvation. A safe preacher; not the old error nor "thirty new ones," which lay in wait for him, could gain entrance into his heart — "the text stood there too powerful." A fearless and confident preacher; his friends need not bother about him; let "the Father be gracious to our Lord Jesus. If His affairs are taken care of, my case is also won." A wise preacher; he knew what means to employ to do his work: "God accomplishes more with His Word than you and I and all the world could accomplish with our forces combined. We must first gain the hearts of the people, which is done by preaching the Gospel."

And so the issue was joined: Luther against the world. It was an unequal contest: the world against the Word of God. It was not the "poor monk" who needed to quake, but the man at Rome, against whom the forces of heaven were marching. For a brief space he was pleased to speak disdainfully of the "monkish wrangling" going on in barbarous Germany, and, indeed, what did he know of grace and faith and Scriptural authority! Lo, this "monkish wrangling," this divine wrangling, which insisted on sola Scriptura, sola gratia, sola fides, set Christendom free, and pronounced the eternal judgment on all who were bound to remain under the banner: Sola Roma.

Nothing could restrain the Reformation. Now again, as in the apostolic times, "the Word of God grew and multiplied." Luther had foretold it: "By the Word the world has been conquered, by the Word the world has been saved,

by the Word she will be restored." "Good men," says the Apology, "are calling for truth and proper instruction from the Word of God; and to them death is less bitter than the bitterness of doubt in any point of doctrine." And here was Scriptural authority. And again: "Without this article the poor conscience can have no true, abiding, and certain consolation." And here was what the wearied souls needed. At once faith sprang up and eagerly appropriated the blessing. And God's Word grew and created men who thought divine thoughts, thoughts of joy and thanksgiving. Thoughts such as this divine thought: "A Christian man is the most free lord of all and subject to none," — a godly declaration of independence: no man shall rule the conscience of God's child! And this divine thought: "A Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all and subject to every one," — a declaration for social service which consisted not of noble words, but existed in noble deeds. And the Word of God caused men eagerly to spread this same Word. In shops and palaces they loved to speak of it; the household gathered about the open Bible; the Gospel-preaching filled the churches; schools sprang up to nurture the gentle youth in the faith of their Savior. And the Word of God multiplied. At Worms a solitary confessor, at Augsburg already a goodly band, and soon there were in every land those who feared God and gave Him glory.

And these principles live to-day. There are still those, in goodly numbers, who put their sole trust in the Gospel of grace as taught by Scripture. That is to say, this article has stood in spite of the Roman Emperor with his Thirty Years' War, the Spanish king with his Inquisition, the French king with his dragonades, the pope with his best thought, the Jesuits, and the modern man with his most advanced presentation of the old principle of human wisdom and human merit. The edict has gone forth from high heaven: *Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn.*

The Open Bible.

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"Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of Me." So speaks Christ, John 5, 39.

We are to *search* the Word of God, to study it diligently, to observe and to read with careful discrimination. God does not wish the Scriptures to be read irreverently, heedlessly, carelessly. Eternal life is too serious a subject for frivolity or careless, idle fancy. Could any language be more plain than the command of Christ? Can any one who makes any pretense of being a true Christian, who accepts the Bible as a lamp to guide his feet, and who believes that the Bible is the Word of God, doubt the efficacy of a "search of the Scriptures"? Must he not be wilfully blind who will not see the truth? Must he not be wilfully deaf who will not heed nor listen to the exhortations of his Maker, who says: "This Book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein" (Joshua 1, 18)?

How great is our debt to the Reformation that it has enabled us to comply with God's command to "search the Scriptures"! How dreary is the lot of him who has no access to the Bible, to whom the Bible is sealed! And yet drearier is the lot of him who can read, and who might have access to the Holy Book, yet from whom the Holy Book is withheld, and who, therefore, cannot accept its testimony of Him who is eternal life! And who are they, even now, that endeavor to close this Book, which God has commanded us "to search"? Who are they that defy the Lord God Almighty, and set their word above His? Have pope, cardinals, and bishops forgotten the Lord's injunction, "For I, the Lord, thy God, am a jealous God," when they proclaim that the doctrine, "Search ye the Scriptures," is a blasphemous, destructive, and damned heresy, and therefore prohibit the reading of the Bible, and threaten all who disobey their injunctions with eternal damnation? Rome of the twentieth

century is the Rome of the sixteenth century, and even to the present day teaches that the Church is an infallible expounder of the doctrines contained in the Bible, and that no one may understand and expound it "in contradiction to the sense which the mother Church has accepted and accepts," as is clearly asserted by the Council of Trent.

Were it not for the Reformation, through which God opened His Book for him who will see, this Book would have remained closed to countless thousands. So immeasurably great is the blessing that it is above human understanding to comprehend it. For to us this open Bible is eternal life.

In pre-Reformation times the Bible was closed and sealed not only to him who might have opened it, had he so desired, but to nearly all mankind. By the grace of God, Luther's great work in translating the Bible, in securing its distribution, and in expounding it, thus revealing God's will to save all, has borne thousandfold fruit. Why, however, must we ascribe the great work of the unsealing and of the opening of the Bible to Luther? Were there not Bibles before his time, and is not too much stress laid on his work, and too much credit given to him? True, the Bible existed before the sixteenth century, but it was accessible to but comparatively few. Mathesius (1566) in speaking of the Bible previous to Luther's time says: "During my youth I saw a German Bible that was not German; it had evidently been translated from the Latin, but it was dark and gloomy, for at that time the educated men did not regard the Bible highly. My father had a German postil which contained the Gospels for the various Sundays, and in which some parts of the Old Testament were postilized and expounded." (Mathesius; 13th sermon.) Dr. John Reuchlin ("Buch wider Pfefferkorn") is authority for the fact that before Luther's translation appeared, there were no less than seventeen different German translations of the Bible in existence. These Bibles, however, were too strongly marked with dialectic peculiarities, and too much tinctured with Romish opinion and exposition to be accepted by any except those who were strongly biased in favor of the Romish doctrines. They

also lacked scholarly precision, contained gross errors, and could, moreover, be obtained only at a high price. Before the invention of printing, the Bibles were transcribed by hand, and it took a rapid penman about ten months to write one copy. Such copies, as late as the fourteenth century, cost about $200 in our money, and it was not uncommon to pay a considerable sum to be allowed to read it for one hour a day.

It is very evident that these various translations had not circulated very widely, and had not diffused among the people any familiar acquaintance with the contents of the sacred volume. Indeed, before the Reformation, the Bible existed not as a book for the laity, but for the hierarchy. The hierarchy wished to perpetuate its power, and conceived the idea of withholding the Book from the common people, so that these might not read it, and thus discover the fraud and deceit often practised upon them. The difficulties attendant upon a search of the Scriptures were thus greatly augmented. And while the common people were thus almost entirely excluded from becoming familiar with the teachings of the Bible, even as it then existed, with all the errors, the learned and educated also found difficulties when they attempted to interpret the original Greek and Hebrew texts. Few of Luther's contemporaries were sufficiently conversant with these languages to be able to read the texts intelligibly, and this was also true of the Latin "Vulgate," which was, perhaps, the most generally known Bible of this time. The "Vulgate" (itself a Latin word meaning "to make common or public") was not only difficult to read and to understand, but was grossly inaccurate, containing over fourteen hundred misleading errors.

Luther's mind was constantly occupied with a desire to remove the difficulty of access to the Holy Book. Ever since he had found the Bible chained to a wall while pursuing his studies at the University at Erfurt, he earnestly wished to make the truths he had discovered universally known. He felt it to be necessary to give to the high and the low of the Teutonic race access to the authority on which he based

his doctrines. He wished to open up to them the sources from which he drew his inspiration. He wished to open to them the holy writings so that they might judge for themselves whether they could be justified by faith alone, or whether the Romish doctrine of indulgences, etc., was to be their hope of salvation.

He wished further to give to his people a Bible generally intelligible and scrupulously faithful to the original text. He wished intensely and earnestly to make himself comprehended, and he felt that he could best do this by using the dialect which was the familiar, every-day speech of the largest part of the people of his native land. Hence, he felt that, if his Bible were to become really an open book to the masses, the phraseology to be adopted must come out of the living vocabulary which he heard employed around him in the street, the market, the field, and the workshop, and a diction must be formed out of the elements common to the speech of the whole Germanic race. Luther felt that only in this way could he write a translation which would be thoroughly idiomatic, and one which could even be understood by the children. How well he succeeded is now a matter of history.

Already during the year 1517, the memorable year of the Wittenberg Theses, Luther had busied himself in translating a part of the Holy Book. This translation embraced only the seven penitential Psalms (the 6th, the 32d, the 38th, the 51st, the 102d, the 130th, and the 143d). Between 1518 and the appearance of the New Testament in 1522, Luther translated eleven different parts of the Bible. He would probably have continued in this desultory manner had not something occurred which completely changed his mode of life and his ordinary work. This was his seizure while on the way from Worms to Wittenberg and his subsequent removal to the Wartburg. Here at the Wartburg he remained from May 4th, 1521, to March 6th, 1522. The time he spent here in calm meditation was very propitious to the maturing of his plans for the promotion of the Reformation, and

among them, perhaps one of the most important of all, the opening of the Holy Scriptures to the German people.

Whilst at the Wartburg he visited Wittenberg, December, 1521, and in Wittenberg he was urged by his friends to undertake a new translation of the Bible, and among these friends Melanchthon was the most insistent. After his return to the Wartburg, he immediately went to work. With few commentaries and without even consulting previous translations of the Bible, until the first rough draft was finished, Luther worked so rapidly that in three months he had completed the entire New Testament. Although the work was done with almost incredible rapidity, the language was so clear, so concise, so accurate and idiomatic, that even to this present day this work is an object of wonder to literary critics. In his New Testament he gave the German language a permanent literary form. His translation was not merely a rendering of the original text into another tongue, but his interpretation is so clear that it not only touches the understanding, but also the heart. This was largely due to a lifetime's preparation for the work. Every one who knows the history of Luther's activities knows how intensively he studied the Holy Scriptures, and how much consolation he found in them. He was thoroughly impregnated with the teachings of Christ, and so imbued with a zeal to secure his own salvation that he was ready at any time to stand or fall with the doctrines which he set forth, and which were based on Biblical truths. When standing before emperor, cardinals, bishops, princes, and nobles at the diet of Worms, he had written on the reading desk before him: "It is written!" No cajolery, no promise of reward, no threat could induce him to deny the truths of the Bible. And finally, when giving a straightforward answer to the strictures of the Romish authorities at Worms, saying, "Unless I be refuted by Scriptural testimonies or by clear argument . . ., I am convinced by the passages of Scripture, and my conscience is bound in the Word of God. . . . I cannot do otherwise. Here I stand. God help me!" he permitted no doubt to remain as to the firmness of his faith and his convictions.

His was a giant intellect, and once having grasped the truth, and known it to be the truth, he was immovable.

After a thorough revision of the text, Luther put his New Testament to press, and hastened the work of printing so greatly that the first edition of about 3,000 copies appeared during the latter part of September, 1522. So quickly was this edition exhausted that already in December of the same year a second edition was made necessary, and subsequent editions followed rapidly. Luther had opened the Book of Knowledge, and now all could read "that we are justified by faith alone." Persons in all ranks of life read with so great avidity that Cochlaeus, one of Luther's bitterest opponents, recorded testimony "that even shoemakers and women became so absorbed in its study, that they were able to carry on discussions with Doctors of Theology."

But the interests of the Catholic hierarchy were foreign to the open Bible, and measures were at once taken to suppress the book. In Bavaria, Austria, and in Brandenburg the strictest means were employed to exclude it. Duke George forbade its sale in Saxony, and bought up all copies which were discovered in his territory. Yet Luther's work could not be prevented from circulating, and very soon copies were found in all parts of Germany. The work was of God, and could not perish. Even Luther's enemies recognized the worth of his translation, for when the Catholic hierarchy commissioned Jerome Emser, a Catholic theologian, to prepare an approved Catholic translation to combat Luther's work, this learned gentleman simply copied Luther's New Testament, making only such changes as brought the Catholic translation into better conformity with the Latin Vulgate. In so doing, Emser showed his critical literary ability, as he evidently had discovered that Luther had done the work so well that it could not be improved upon.

But it was Luther's intense desire to open the Old Testament also to the German people, and already before the printed copies of the New Testament began to be circulated, he and his friends had begun the work of translating the Old Testament. He himself acknowledged that he was not

sufficiently trained in Hebrew to be competent to carry out the translation alone. He had, however, the rare good sense of surrounding himself with some of the most learned men of his time: Aurogallus, Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Roerer, Justus Jonas, Dr. Cruciger, Foerster, and Ziegler. These men perseveringly overcame all difficulties. Luther was the most persevering of all, although sometimes he was seemingly somewhat discouraged. Once, when struggling to construe a complicated construction, he exclaimed: "O the great difficulty of making the Hebrew authors speak barbarian German!" So painstaking were he and his colleagues to be accurate, and to give correct and idiomatic equivalents for the various technical terms, that no effort was deemed too great to be made. He himself once said: "With Philip [Melanchthon] and Aurogallus I sometimes pondered full fourteen days upon the meaning of a word or line before the proper idiomatic phraseology was discovered." So that he might secure the correct terms for the Jewish sacrifices, he requested a butcher to come to him to give the proper and correct names for the various parts of a sheep. Through Spalatin's intervention the court jewels were borrowed, so that a better conception of the precious stones described in the Book of Revelation might be formed. Thus, with infinite patience, Luther and his friends perseveringly overcame all difficulties; and after the sense of a disputed phrase or clause was fixed in mutual discussion, Luther was finally called upon to render the part in the idiomatic construction, for which work he was peculiarly fitted.

The work progressed rapidly, and already three months after the New Testament had been published, the Pentateuch appeared, early in 1523. Two separate parts followed in 1524 — the first part the historical books, and the second part the Book of Job, the Psalms, and the writings (or books) of Solomon. The last of the canonical books did not appear until 1532; and finally, the Apocrypha were translated, in 1534, when for the first time an edition containing a complete translation was published by Hans Lufft.

Luther, however, was not content to have the Bible translated and made accessible to all who could and would read; he was deeply concerned as to the manner in which the common people could procure the book, and use it. In addition to furthering the printing of the Bible, he also suggested that it be read publicly in churches and in schools, and in his paper upon "Public Worship" (Richter I, p. 10 sqq.; Erlangen 22, p. 105 sqq.) he prepared regulations for reading the Bible at the various services. His recommendations for the use of the Bible were generally accepted, and in a short time the reading of the Scriptures was universal in all parts of the country.

Although Luther had not intended his translation for people other than his Germans, unintentionally he exerted a tremendous influence upon the opening of the Bible to people of other tongues, and especially to the English. After his translation of the New Testament, a stream of Lutheran literature began to flow into the English seaports, and among the earliest and most ardent admirers of the Wittenberg Doctor was William Tyndale. This preacher conceived the plan of translating the New Testament into English. Although at this time Lutheranism was making considerable headway in England, Tyndale soon discovered that he would not be permitted to carry on his work of translation anywhere in his native country. He, therefore, left England in May of 1524, and went to Hamburg. Where he spent the time until the spring of 1525, when his New Testament was ready for the press, is a matter of dispute. However, the unanimous evidence of his contemporaries supports the view that he was with Luther at Wittenberg, and that he worked there at his translation. In 1525 he came to Cologne to have his book printed by Peter Quentel. But while the work of printing was under way, the city council interfered, and Tyndale was glad to escape with the rescued sheets of his incomplete edition to Worms, where Peter Schoeffer not only printed a quarto edition, but also one in octavo of 3,000 copies. Between 1525 and 1528 no less than six edi-

tions of Tyndale's New Testament, about 18,000 copies, were printed and shipped to the various English ports.

The relation of Tyndale's quarto edition to Luther's New Testament is very close. The order of the books, the arrangement of the text, the glosses on the outer margin, the references to parallel passages on the inner margin, the prologs, and many renderings in the text establish this relation beyond a doubt.

"To any one," says Demaus, Tyndale's biographer, "who has enjoyed the opportunity of placing side by side the folio of Luther's German Testament printed in September, 1522, and Tyndale's quarto printed in September, 1525, the whole matter is clear at a glance. Tyndale's New Testament is Luther's in miniature; the general appearance of the pages is the same; the arrangement of the text is the same; and the appropriation of the margins, the inner one for parallel passages, and the outer for the glosses, is also the same. Of the whole number of *ninety* marginal glosses which occur in the fragment of Tyndale's quarto that has come down to us, *fifty-two* have been more or less literally taken from Luther." (Demaus, "Biography of William Tyndale," pp. 129. 130.) And in commenting further upon the coincidence of the translations, Demaus says: "Nothing could show more strikingly than Tyndale's 'Prolog to the Epistle to the Romans' the great ascendancy which the great Reformer had now [1526] obtained over the mind of Tyndale. The 'Introduction to the Romans' is, in truth, hardly an original work, but is much more correctly described as a translation or paraphrase of Luther's preface to the same epistle. Luther's work, originally in German, had been translated into Latin by Justus Jonas in 1523; and it is evident that Tyndale used both the German and Latin copies." (Demaus, *l. c.*, p. 145.)

Westcott in his "History of the English Bible" says of Luther's influence upon Tyndale's translation: "The extent to which Tyndale silently incorporated free or even verbal translations of passages from Luther's works in his own has

escaped the notice of his editors. To define it accurately would be a work of very great labor. . . . Tyndale's 'Prolog' to his quarto Testament, his first known writing, almost at the beginning introduces a large fragment from Luther's preface to the New Testament. There is, indeed, a ring in the opening words which might have led any one familiar with Luther's style to suspect their real source." (Westcott, "History of the English Bible," p. 146.)

In support of his contention the same author gives both Luther's and Tyndale's versions in parallel columns.

TYNDALE:

"Euāgelio is a greke worde, and signyfyth good, mery, glad and ioyfull tydinge, that maketh a mannes hert glad, and maketh hym synge, daunce and leepe for ioye. As when Davyd had kylled Golyath the geaūt cam glad tydinge vnto the iewes, that their fearfull and cruell enemy was slayne, and they delyvered oute of all daunger; for gladness were of, they sange, daunced, and were ioyfull." (Westcott, *l. c.*, p. 146.)

LUTHER:

"Evangelion ist eyn griechisch wort vnd heyst auff deutsch gute botschafft, gute meher, gutte new zeyttung, gut geschrey, davon man singet, saget und frolich ist. Gleich als do Dauid den grossen Goliath vberwand, kam ein gut geschrey vnd trostlich new zeytūg vnter das Iudisch volck, das yhrer grewlicher feynd erschlagen, vnd se erloset, zu freud vnd frid gestellet weren, dauon sie sungen vnd sprungen vnd frolich waren."

"The coincidences between Tyndale's Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount and that of Luther, though fewer, are even more worthy of notice. Luther's Expository Sermons were delivered in 1530, and printed in 1532, but they were not translated into Latin till 1533. On the other hand, Tyndale's Exposition was printed in 1532. He must then have used the German Edition of Luther, or, perhaps, even notes taken by some friend or by himself. The coincidences, which are comparatively rare, are still verbal and at the same time tacit. The following example will be sufficient to indicate their character." (Westcott, *ibid.*, p. 148.)

TYNDALE:

(Matt. 5, 4.)

Righteousnes is not taken for the principalle righteousnes of a christen mā, thorow which the parson is good and accepted before God. For these VIII poyntes are but doctryne of the frutes and workes of a christen mā before which the faythe must be there . . . ād as a tre out of which all soche frutes ād workes must sprynge.

Wherfore vnderstande here the outwarde righteousnes before the worlde and true and faythfull dealynge eche with other. . . .

LUTHER:

(Matth. 5, 4.)

Gerechtigkeit mus an diesem ort nicht heissen, die Christliche heubt gerechtigkeit, dadurch die person frum vnd angenem wird fur Gott. Denn ich habe vor gesagt, das diese acht stuck nichts anders sind, denn eine lere von den früchten vnd guten wercken eines Christen, vor welchen der glaube zuvor mus da sein, als der bawm vnd heubstuck . . . daraus solche stuck alle wachsen vnd folgen mussen. Darumb verstehe hie die eusserlich Gerechtigkeit fur der welt, so wir vnter vns gegen ander hallten. . . .

If we further compare Luther's and Tyndale's translations, we find striking similarities also in the texts of the various books, so that the unbiased observer is prone to acknowledge Tyndale's debt to Luther.

Tyndale's translation formed the basis of all subsequent translations of the English Bible. Marsh, in commenting on the work of Tyndale, says: "Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Cranmer's, the Bishops', the Genevan, and the Standard Version coincide so nearly with each other, both in sense and in phraseology, that we may hear whole chapters of any of them read without noticing that they deviate from the text to which we have always been accustomed. When, then, we study our Testaments, we are in most cases perusing the identical words penned by the martyr Tyndale, nearly three hundred years ago." (Marsh, "Lecture on the English Language," p. 625.)

And Froude, the historian, says: "Of Tyndale's translation itself, though since that time [1525] it has been many times revised and altered, we may say that it is substantially the Bible with which we are familiar. The peculiar genius —

if such a word may be permitted — which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequaled, unapproached, in the attempted improvement of modern scholars, — all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man, William Tyndale." ("History," Vol. III, p. 84.) Demaus, speaking upon the same point, says: "The most satisfactory demonstration that can be given of the superlative merit of Tyndale's work is the fact that the English New Testament, as we now have it, is, in its substance, the unchanged language of Tyndale's first version. The English Bible has been subjected to repeated revisions; the scholarship of generations, better provided than Tyndale was with critical apparatus, has been brought to bear upon it; writers by no means overfriendly to the original translator have had it in their power to disparage and to displace his work: yet, in spite of all these influences, that Book, to which all Englishmen turn as the source, and the guide, and the stay of their spiritual life is substantially the translation of Tyndale." (p. 131.)

It may thus be seen from the foregoing that the blessings of the Reformation spread in wide circles, and much blessing was bestowed upon England and English-speaking peoples through Tyndale's opening of the Bible. While Luther's influence was not so much directly felt in England through his own translation, indirectly his influence was strongly exerted upon the millions of readers of the English Bible through Tyndale's contact with the great Reformer. Tyndale, himself a man of great scholarly attainments, realized that Luther's was a master mind, and, therefore, was more than willing to accept Luther's assistance. And as Tyndale's translation forms the basis of all subsequent translations, we who realize the great blessings of the Reformation which the open Bible brought feel that Tyndale's contact with Luther gave to the English version much of that perspicuity, that correctness, and that orderly arrangement which we esteem so highly in the German translation. And though millions of English readers may never be willing to admit the hand and touch of Luther in the English Bible, it is

but fitting that, in the enumeration of the great deeds of the great Reformer, and of the great blessings coming down to us through the open Bible, both the German as well as the English, we draw the attention of the whole world to these indisputable historical facts, and proclaim far and wide how much is due to this great man.

And what did this open Bible do for the people? It showed them the way to salvation; it disclosed to them the false doctrines of the Romish religion; it taught them to reason and to weigh the decrees of pope and council, — it was to them light and salvation. What had been dark was illumined, and the Antichrist and his legions could not so easily deceive the common man. Lie could not be proclaimed, for the Truth was at hand.

In conclusion we cannot refrain from calling attention to the many and varied expositions which Luther wrote upon the books of the Bible to make clear to the most common of his people, as well as to the most learned men of his time, the exact meaning of the various texts. His denotative powers are clearly seen in his expositions of the Books of Moses, of the Psalms, and of various other parts of the Bible. How diligently does he strive to make clear to his Germans the exact meaning of God's Law as expressed in the Ten Commandments! So well has he done the work that even the many great theologians who followed him were glad to accept his interpretations. He who possesses a complete set of Luther's works, possesses a well of knowledge which seems inexhaustible. He himself was a most exacting disciple of God's command "to search the Scriptures," and his work in making the Bible open to the millions who followed him, thus giving them an incentive to read, to study, to search for salvation's sake, to learn that the Scriptures testify of Him who is "eternal life," is one of the great blessings of the Reformation.

Luther and the Peasant War.

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The Peasant War of 1525 was a politico-social revolt of national importance. As such it forms a subject of deep interest to the student of Germany's history, the more so because it was both the most powerful of many similar uprisings during the two preceding centuries and the last truly national movement till 1813. For the student of Luther, peculiar interest attaches to this greatest peasant war because of the charges made against the great Reformer with reference thereto. The Romanists insist that Luther and the Reformation were the prime cause of this truly terrible upheaval. Likewise the very men who through their fundamentally different conception of Christian freedom became the chief fomentors of the war, together with Socialists and Communists of a later day, have accused Luther of deserting the cause of the common people, and of a cowardly failure to stand by the principles he himself had enunciated in their alleged logical and necessary application to the social and political life.

The most comprehensive condemnation of Luther and the Reformation bearing on this point is made by Leo XIII. In his encyclical "Diuturnum," p. 25, he says: "Indeed, that so-called Reformation, whose leaders and abettors radically assailed the power of Church and State by new doctrines, was followed by sudden tumults and most audacious rebellions, chiefly in Germany, and that with so much fire and murder of domestic war that hardly a place free from turmoil and bloodshed was to be found. . . . From this heresy, in the last century, a falsely so-called philosophy took its origin, and what is known as modern law, and government by the people, that boundless license which alone is considered liberty by the masses. From these it has come to kindred pests, to Communism, Socialism, Nihilism, abominations ill-boding and well-nigh death-dealing to civil human society."

Right here let it be noted that the Romanists persistently

refuse to take cognizance of the fundamental difference between Luther's teaching on the Gospel of Christ, the sphere and relation of Church and State, and that of the Puritans and Enthusiasts, who parted company with him and fought him and his teaching no less bitterly than did the papists. Assuredly the interest as to Luther's true relation to the Peasant War is only increased by the observation that he is condemned alike by the Romanists and the Protestant sectarians, and by the Communists and Socialists and others of like ilk, declared by Leo XIII the product of the Reformation.

Many violent insurrections, in which not only peasants were involved, preceded the war of 1525. For over a hundred years there had been a demand by all the estates for a reform of the Church in its head and members. For more than four centuries a conflict had been waging between the popes and the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire, due to the ever increasing usurpation by the popes of the rights and powers originally held by the emperors. Again, there was almost constant conflict between the princes and the emperor, the princes endeavoring to secure for themselves an ever larger degree of independent sovereignty. Again, the minor nobles fought against the increase of the power of the princes; the cities sought extension of their power and wealth in opposition to the knights and at the expense of the peasants; and the latter resisted as best they could the constant encroachments on their rights, liberties, and possessions by both the lords of the Church and of the State. Many and far-reaching changes affecting disastrously the economic and social status of the peasants had been wrought by manifold influences.

Though Romanist historians, like Johannes Janssen, in his "History of the German People," have sought to prove that the conditions of the common man and especially of the vast majority of the agrarian population had experienced much improvement during the period before the Reformation, to which the Reformation gave a setback, yet must they admit that there was much cause for complaint, as by all

the estates against the corruption, greed, and tyranny of Rome, so by the peasants against unwarrantable oppression and excessive exactions by both the ecclesiastical and secular princes. Everybody, through the Church, sought an easy and luxurious living, and this at the expense of the common people, who were almost wholly debarred from ecclesiastical offices.

There is no denying the fact that the Reformation, as it progressed, caused an ever deeper ferment which entered into every phase of life. The freedom of the Christian, as proclaimed by Luther in opposition to Rome's tyranny over the soul and conscience of man, was not fully or rightly grasped, and for that very reason misapplied, and this by some of the men who were most zealous in preaching the new theology, as conceived by them. Little may we marvel, then, that many of the laity should have come to base purely social and political reformatory claims on the Gospel of Christ.

The common mind is always inclined to go to extremes whenever by a mighty change old things are made to pass. Moreover, at such times ideas formerly absorbed, but which had been long dormant, are apt to revive. And if one would rightly gage the causes that produced the Peasant War, it is necessary that he should acquaint himself with all the social and political conditions and changes, and still more with the religious reform movements, which antedated Luther and the war.

Many were the sects that arose within the confines of the Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire before the Reformation. Practically all of these bore the same fundamental character. None of them ever got rid of what constitutes Rome's essential difference from Lutheranism, its basic conception of Christ's Gospel, that is to say, they never conceived religion to be anything else than an order of life, by which man is to work out his own salvation. What they therefore aimed at was merely an improvement of the order of life, a truer interpretation and a more consistent application of what they so significantly called the evangelical

law or the law of Christ to all the phases of life in Church and State. Necessarily their every conception of freedom was limited to the external phases of life, called merely for a new social order, and meant nothing more than freedom of movement for the redeemed child of God within what was understood to be God's law and order. It was not freedom from the Law and sin's guilt and penalty, the freedom of the conscience before God by His grace through Christ's vicarious obedience and suffering.

Another important fact which may not be overlooked is that nearly all these sectarians and reformers, or heretics, as Rome called them, were affected by, and entangled in, Mysticism and Apocalypticism. The mystic seeks satisfaction for his soul by immediate communion with God. The end and aim of all religion for him is to seek perfection of happiness by losing his soul completely in God, thus becoming, as it were, dead to all influences outside of God. To attain this glorious state is the one object to which he holds it his duty to direct all his energies. Carried to its logical end, mysticism leads to a complete identification of one's own spirit with that of God, to the rejection not only of all ecclesiastical authority and mediation, but of all mediation of God's grace by the Holy Ghost through any external means whatsoever. Though the Holy Scriptures are at first employed to furnish the proof for the actuality of personal communication with God, these are soon brushed aside as no longer needed, because of the alleged direct communication with the Spirit of God.

No man appears to have exerted a mightier influence upon the sectarians of the Middle Ages than Joachim of Floris, and this by reason of his apocalyptical speculations. Significant, too, is the fact that this curious Calabrian prior, who died in the year 1201, published his writings at the urgent request of several popes. Notwithstanding this fact, his writings were employed as one of their chief weapons by the antagonists of papacy. A historical philosopher, he divided the history of the world into three periods. The first he defined as the period of servitude under the Law,

the second as that of childhood under the tutelage of the priesthood, the third was to be that of perfect liberty. In this period the perfect revelation was to come, and perfect life to be attained, and that was to be the life of the monks, no private possessions, no difference of caste or estate, no cares of labor. To reach these conclusions and secure for them divine basis and authority he used the Bible, interpreting it allegorically. This method enabled him to put his own preconceived notions into the Bible, and at the same time paved the way for the abandonment of the Bible for a more advanced and direct revelation, such as was to come in his third period. The beginning of this period he saw in the origin of monasticism, the zenith he placed in the middle of the thirteenth century. Following the example of Joachim, others, by allegorical interpretation of the Bible, endeavored to make its statements and prophecies fit present-day conditions and show the way for the fulfilment of their heart's desires. Nor did they stop here, but adopting the idea of Joachim's third period, they proceeded to claim for themselves the prophetic gift, direct inspiration and revelation, and this in the interest of the very freedom foretold by Joachim to come in his third period. These vagaries not only gave birth to many sects, but continued to live and vegetate among the people, even after the sects, as organized bodies, were suppressed and disappeared. Throughout the Middle Ages we see them reappear here, there, and everywhere.

With these facts before our eyes, we may readily understand such phenomena as the preaching and doings of the Zwickau prophets and men of the type of Thomas Muenzer, who beyond a doubt was the prime fomentor of the Peasant War. Significant, too, is the fact that Muenzer's home and the province of his earliest activities is known to have been a nest of the thoughts and theories of one such sect, the Flagellants.

Let us now briefly review the Peasant War. The first disturbances occurred in the Hapsburg countries along the upper Rhine in connection with an attempt by Duke Ulrich

of Wuerttemberg, who had been exiled since 1519, to recover his land. Anabaptists, in part emissaries of Thomas Muenzer, appear to have been the prime agents in creating the commotion. In the latter half of 1524 Muenzer himself loomed up in those regions, in Klettgau and Hegau, Switzerland and Alsace. Besides him a large number of itinerant preachers created ever more unrest. In the first quarter of the year 1525 the famous "Twelve Articles of the Peasants" were composed in Upper Swabia. Their circulation through all Germany began with the beginning of March. For the justification of the demands made Scripture passages were adduced. Briefly stated, these were the demands made: —

1. Freedom to elect their own pastors, who are to preach the Gospel without any human additions.

2. The preachers to receive for their sustenance no more than the tithes; the residue of the church-income to be set aside that no taxes need in case of war be imposed on the poor.

3. The lords as true and genuine Christians to release the peasants from serfdom, who for their part promise to live according to the Word of God and to give obedience to the government in all proper and Christian matters.

4. The poor man to have the right to take for himself the fish of the lake, the beasts and birds of the forest.

5. All wooded lands of which the secular or clerical lords had taken possession without payment therefor to revert to the communities. With respect to properties paid for, a peaceable settlement is to be made by mutual agreement.

6—8. The peasants to be relieved from burdensome exactions, services, taxes, and fines.

9. Judgments and penalties to be just, free from jealousy and partiality.

10. Meadows and lands of right belonging to the communities to be returned to them.

11. The widows and orphans no longer to be subjected to the death-tax.

12. If any of these articles should be proved contrary to

the Word of God, these are to be canceled, but the right is reserved to set up others having the warrant of Holy Writ.

Compared with similar articles of earlier days, these reveal a truly remarkable moderation, no doubt due to the beneficent influence of the Reformation. True to their profession, the peasants at first showed themselves willing to confer with the lords to bring about an amicable settlement of their differences. And even after the fierce tumult had gotten under way and spread in many directions, a conference was held at Heilbronn, beginning with the 9th of May, in which representatives of various cities and men of considerable prominence met with a committee of peasants to draw up a program of imperial reform, and a most remarkable document it was which they compiled. It contained the following fourteen articles: —

1. All clerics, high and low, shall be reformed and receive proper sustenance, their properties to be diverted to the common welfare.

2. All secular lords shall be reformed, in order that the poor may not be oppressed by them beyond Christian freedom; equal and quick administration of justice for the highest and the lowest. Princes and nobles shall protect the poor, and in consideration of an honest income conduct themselves in brotherly fashion.

3. All cities and communities shall be reformed in compliance with Christian freedom according to divine and natural law; no ancient or modern human invention to be permitted. All ground-rents to be redeemable.

4. No doctor of Roman law may be admitted to any court or a prince's council; only three doctors of imperial law to be permitted at each university, whose counsel may be sought when required.

5. No cleric, high or low, may be a member of the imperial council, or employed as the counsel of other princes and communes; none shall hold secular office.

6. All civil law heretofore in force within the empire to be abrogated; only divine and natural law to prevail, so that the poor man may have like access to justice with the

highest and richest. (Specific provisions were added as to the number, character, and composition of the courts, allowing representation to all the estates and the right of appeal from one court to another.)

7. All tolls to cease, except those for bridges and roads.

8. All streets to be free, all excise abolished.

9. No taxes outside of the imperial tax to be raised once every ten years. (Matt. 22.)

10. Only one kind of coin for the whole German nation.

11. Universal uniformity of measures and weights.

12. Curtailment of usury as practised by the large banking concerns, who possess themselves of all the money, and fleece, as they will, the rich and poor.

13. The freedom of the nobles from every ecclesiastical feudality.

14. The abolition of all alliances of princes, lords, and cities; protection and defense by the emperor only to prevail throughout the whole realm.

This can hardly be called other than a sane program, but nearly four hundred years were to roll by before its main features were adopted. Unhappily radical forces gained the ascendancy with the peasants, and so it was that the revolt was not stopped, but like a mighty flood rolled onward, eastward into the Austrian Alps, westward into Alsace, thence down the Rhine into the Palatinate, northward into Wuerttemberg, Franconia and Thuringia. The lords of Southwest Germany formed the Swabian League, which for a time, but a short time only, prevented the outbreak of hostilities. By the end of March the flames of revolution broke forth everywhere. Castles and cloisters were despoiled and incinerated. Against the cities, too, the peasants marched, but largely for the purpose of winning them over to their side and making them points of support, bases of operation. Nor were the efforts of the peasants in this direction futile. At one time nearly all the cities of Franconia made common cause with them. Early in April the forces of the Swabian League, commanded by Georg Truchsess, of Waldenburg, met the peasants at Leipheim and scored

their first victory. Five hundred peasants were brutally executed. This only served to increase the wrath of the peasants, and when, on the 16th of April, twelve days later, they successfully stormed Weinsberg, they retaliated by mercilessly murdering the Count of Helfenstein and his associates, despite the plea made by the count's wife, with a babe on her arms, to spare his life. The infuriated mobs became guilty of ever more vicious excesses and revolting brutalities. However, the victories gained by the peasants were short-lived. April 17th the revolt was brought to a close in upper Swabia by the Weingartner Treaty. Truchsess with his forces then moved into Wuerttemberg and defeated the peasants at Boeblingen on May 12th. Then he marched his army into Franconia, where on May 28th his troops were joined by those of the Elector of the Palatinate and of Trier. On the 2nd of June a victory over the rebels was scored at Koenigshofen on the Tauber, and on June 4th at Wuerzburg. June 8th Wuerzburg surrendered, June 28th Rothenburg. Muenzer and his comrades had already met their fate at Frankenhausen on May 15th. Only in the Alpine countries did the insurrection last into the summer of 1526. Brutal was the punishment inflicted on the defeated peasants. The estimates as to the number of peasants killed in this war vary between 50,000 and 100,000. On the whole, the status of the peasants remained much the same as before the war. Where the war had waged hottest, some betterment was granted. Only in the Hapsburg countries were greater hardships imposed.

Muenzer it was who, coming into the camp of the peasants at Muehlhausen, caused the breaking off of negotiations with the princes, whose forces were posted at Frankenhausen, and who had sought to reach by negotiation a peaceable adjustment. He promised the peasants victory and declared himself armed with the sword of Gideon. In a paroxysm of wildest frenzy he assured the poor deluded peasants miraculous aid, and bade them look to the heavens, where he pretended to discover either in a rainbow or a halo around the sun a God-given pledge of victory. But the help from above did not

appear. The artillery of the princes wrought quick and irresistible destruction, and turned the battle into a massacre. More than half of the rebels were slain. Muenzer made his escape, crept into a house and into bed. Foxlike he feigned sickness, but this did not prevent his being condemned to death. And now that his wild dreams were exploded, he renounced his new religion, took the Sacrament in one kind, and died a Roman Catholic!

We have now reached the point where we shall examine into Luther's relation to this deplorable debacle, the Peasant War. Is it true that he through his teaching brought on this terrible war? or that, when put to the test through the outbreak of this war, he showed the white feather, went back on his own teaching, the principles evolved from the Gospel of Christ, deserted the cause of the common people and became the obsequious servitor of the princes?

True it is that Muenzer and the other fanatics who stirred up this rebellion made common cause with Luther in his fight against Rome, and proclaimed themselves preachers of Christ's Gospel and prophets of the Lord God Most High. True it also is that they accused Luther and his loyal associates of cowardice, of being afraid to put their words into action, of being intent upon an easy life, and unwilling to follow what they proclaimed the law of Christ. Again it is true that the peasants proclaimed Luther, Melanchthon, and others their patrons, and no doubt honestly and sincerely believed their demands based upon the Gospel of Christ and that Christian freedom which Luther had brought to light, and finally declared themselves willing to have Luther sit in judgment on their articles. But what proof is there in all this to fix on Luther any guilt with respect to the peasant revolt?

Never a man has yet dared to say that Luther ever called upon the peasants to right the wrongs suffered by them by an appeal to arms. Nor has the man yet appeared who has undertaken to prove that Luther taught the freedom wrought by Christ for all mankind to be anything but a spiritual freedom, a freedom of the soul and conscience, neither to be

gained nor to be retained except by the Holy Spirit, operating through the divinely appointed means of grace, preeminently the Gospel of Christ. But such was not the conception of Christ's Gospel held and promulgated by Muenzer and his *confrères,* the men who incited the rising of the peasants. Impossible it is for any one to judge rightly Luther's relation to these men and the Peasant War, unless he have come to thoroughly understand the doctrine of the Christian freedom or of the justification of the sinner by faith alone, as held and promulgated by Luther.

Long before the Peasant War did Luther clearly perceive a radical difference to exist between his own basic conception of the Gospel of Christ and that of these men. They were the cause of his leaving the Wartburg, and returning to Wittenberg despite the most earnest petition and protestation of the Elector Frederick. The reformation they craved was not primarily and fundamentally a reformation of the sinner's soul, a restoration of man to divine kinship, but the establishment merely of a new order of life. They had not passed through any such experience as Luther had, and the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free meant for them not the deliverance from the Law, and the guilt and penalty of sin, but deliverance merely from external conditions preventing the unhampered movement of man in accordance with the law of Christ. The Gospel of Christ was to them really nothing but a new law, calling for the social and political equality of all men. To put the Gospel of Christ into practise, therefore, meant, to their mind, nothing more than the removal of whatever was contradictory or a hindrance to such equality. And this they deemed it right to effect, if necessary, by force.

Furthermore, these men, like the mystics and apocalyptics of an earlier day, interpreted the Bible allegorically, and thus injected into it their own preconceived material notions. Like their spiritual ancestors, they also proceeded to lift themselves up above the Scriptures, and, brushing the Bible aside, proclaimed themselves prophets enjoying direct inspiration and new revelations from God. Thus it came about

that Carlstadt, infected and carried away by this enthusiasm of the Zwickau prophets, not only connived at the reformation by force which they attempted at Wittenberg, but advocated the closing of all theological schools, and himself went to the bakers, weavers, and shoemakers, inquiring of them what the Holy Ghost had taught and revealed unto them. Why, said he, should the Holy Ghost not do now what He had done of old? Why should He not to-day reveal divine truth and give right and deeper spiritual understanding to the weaver and the peasant than to the learned man and theological professor, just as He had by direct inspiration given such knowledge to Christ's apostles?

Over against these men Luther from the very beginning distinguished sharply between the spiritual freedom wrought for all the world by Christ and every form of social and political liberty and reform, and contended with all his energy against any confusion of the two. Thus, too, he took an uncompromising stand against the employment of any force for the advancement of Christian freedom or any Church reform, maintaining that is was only through the Holy Ghost that man could be converted to faith in Christ, and thus made to possess the freedom of Christ, and only as divine conviction was effected in man by the Holy Ghost through the Word of God could any genuine reform be effected in the Church. Let the Holy Spirit enlighten the masses, and all abuses, institutions and practises in conflict with the Gospel of Christ would be done away with by unanimous consent, in fact, drop off as dead leaves drop from a living tree. Again, he stoutly insisted that to the Word of God all are bound, the Word alone, and that in its natural sense.

Though in his "Address to the Christian Nobility" Luther assailed all Roman oppression and abuse, he did it as a theologian. As such he had a right to do it, and this because the abuses attacked by him were, without exception, due to a corruption of the conceptions of grace, Church, priesthood, and Church-polity. In all these he beheld a grave violation of the clear command of God, which gives to civil government

only the power of the sword. It was this Rome denied, demanding for all the clergy exemption from the jurisdiction of the State, and usurping its power. How scrupulously Luther guarded against all confusion of spiritual freedom with any external social and political freedom appears most clearly from his essay on "Secular Government" and the obedience we owe it. (1523.) In this essay he demands that the Christian suffer patiently any abuse the government may make of its power, though neither approving thereof nor becoming a party thereto. And already in the admonition sent to Wittenberg from the Wartburg in 1521 he says: "I hold, and ever will hold, to the party which suffers violence, no matter how wrong it may be, and will oppose the party that causes tumult, however righteous its cause, and this because no tumult will pass off without the shedding of innocent blood and other harm." The reason for taking this position he defines to be that in this case the devil, by stirring up "temporal tumult," would seek to prevent the "spiritual tumult," and thus harm the evangelical cause. "But," he continues, "God willing, he shall not succeed. They that read and understand my teaching aright do not create tumult; they have not learned it from me."

Clearly as he perceived the fundamental difference between his own conception of Christ's Gospel and that of Muenzer and others of like type, so Luther also, from the very outset, clearly perceived that Muenzer's activities must lead to a revolution, and thereby cause the greatest possible harm to the cause of the pure Gospel, which he knew himself called by God to preach anew to mankind. That it was which he called "the Altstedt spirit." Muenzer, indeed, first called upon the princes to use their sword to prevent insurrection, and he certainly would have been well satisfied had he succeeded in forcibly establishing the law of Christ through the sword of the princes. But failing in this, he unhesitatingly appealed to the sword of the peasants.

Neither Luther nor his teaching may with any justice be charged with having provoked the revolt of the peasants. It was no fault of his that the peasants in their articles

mixed religious and social matters, proclaimed him their patron and made appeal to his teachings, falsely understood by them, and this largely, if not entirely, because of the teachings of men who, while they fought as he did against Rome, yet differed fundamentally with him in the conception of the gospel of Christian freedom, and on that score fought him with no less bitterness than did the Romanists.

The "Twelve Articles of the Peasants" Luther did not, on the whole, condemn as too radical. All questions arising from articles 4—11, he urged, should be left to the jurists. These he considered debatable, and did not reprove the peasants for them. He protested against dragging the Christian name into these matters, and declared that, with respect to these, the peasants should simply have appealed to divine and natural law. In the first three articles he found cause for severe rebuke. Though the peasants are right in demanding freedom to elect their own pastors, he denies to them the right of demanding the disposition of the benefices, since these belong to the government. Thus, too, he declares the demand of the peasants with respect to the tithes to be sheer theft and robbery. His strongest protest is, however, entered against the endeavor to compel the government, by force, to accede to their demands. Taking his stand upon the teaching of the Bible on civil government, he saw the greatest crime in rising up against the government, and fought against having the conception of the divine establishment and duty of civil government obscured by any conflicting religious or moral considerations. Herein he took a position fundamentally different both from that of Rome and that traditionally received from Wyclif by the sectarians, according to which government had only a lease on the power entrusted to it, which terminated in and with the abuse of that power. It was for this reason Luther held that also social and political reforms must not be attempted by violence and rebellion, but by fearlessly holding up to the divinely constituted powers their duty according to divine and natural law. The Christian especially must prove his

Christianity by being subject to the powers that be, suffering patiently any wrong, rather than by violent resistance doing wrong, confident that the Lord, the Ruler over all, will hear his prayers, right all wrong in due season, and make all things serve for the good of His faithful children.

But the sorest point for Luther was that the peasants urged in behalf of their socio-political demands and their forcible enactment a conception of the Gospel wholly antagonistic to its true contents and import. This, he rightly perceived, involved nothing less than the subversion of the very essence of Christianity, and for that reason the destruction of that entire reformation for which he, by God's grace, had been permitted to labor. In their third article the peasants had based their demand for release from serfdom on the freedom Christ had secured for all alike, the lowest and the highest, by the redemption through His blood. To this plea Luther replied that Christian freedom has nothing to do with a man's social or political position in this world. Being a serf or slave as little prevents one from enjoying the spiritual freedom through faith in Christ as if one were an invalid or a prisoner. The peasants by this article would turn Christ's spiritual kingdom into a worldly, external kingdom, a thing which can never be endured. Worldly kingdoms cannot exist without disparity in persons, some being free, some bound, some lords, some subjects. But all alike have access to God's grace and Spirit and to the Christian freedom. Luther did not disapprove of the peasants endeavoring to protect themselves against any injustice and wrong contrary to nature. But if to Christian law they appeal, they must be told that this enjoins patient endurance of injustice. No desire has he to uphold the government in any palpable and unbearable injustice, but he does insist that both parties to this quarrel have nothing to do with Christianity. Should violent insurrection be inaugurated, then, in his conviction, the government must, in the performance of its Christian duty, use all the power at its command to suppress such insurrection. True to this conviction, he unhesitatingly called upon the govern-

ment to perform its duty, when the peasants, despite their professed willingness to submit to his judgment, failed to give ear to his admonition and protest. Moreover, over against every charge of cowardice it must be recorded that, at the risk of being himself murdered, he went into various disturbed localities, seeking to quiet the rebellious spirits. Also it must be recorded that where the preachers held to Luther's teaching of the Gospel quiet was maintained or quickly restored. Finally it must be said to Luther's everlasting honor that he never disowned responsibility in calling on the government to wield its sword for the suppression of the rebels. Frankly did he acknowledge that it was he who, through his exhortation to the princes, brought about the extinction of Muenzer and the rebellion incited by him.

Right in his conception of the very essence of Christianity, Luther was right in his stand over against Muenzer and all his *confrères*. With the deluded peasants we must deeply sympathize, especially because their lot might have been much improved, and that within a short time, if they had followed Luther instead of the self-made "heavenly prophets." But as for the preachers of mere social and political reform, to whom Christ's Gospel was only a new law, and a law to be enforced by force, we must say: Thanks be to God that their movement received, in and with the crushing of the Peasant War, its death-blow, and that Luther, over against them, proved himself a veritable Gibraltar of the true Christian faith and the true Christian freedom!

Luther's Marriage.

Rev. W. M. Czamanske, Sheboygan, Wis.

If Luther meant to be a true reformer of a corrupt Church, which invariably pictured marriage as an unholy, and even as an unclean state, it was almost necessary for him, who proclaimed the sanctity of matrimony according to the Scriptures, to back up his words by his own example.

While he was in the Wartburg, Luther wrote a tract in

which he proved from the Bible that the Church of Rome is wrong, when she says, "It is unlawful for the clergy to marry." "Marriage is God's appointment," he said, "and therefore no man has a right to forbid it to any one." In consequence of this tract, there began an exodus from the convents, and many nuns, monks, and priests entered the state of matrimony.

Not far from Leipzig, on the road to Dresden, is the small city of Grimma, and, close by, the hamlet of Nimbschen, where, in a building now a farmhouse, there was a nunnery. In some way or other, a ray of the light that had dawned in Wittenberg pierced these encloistered walls. Luther's writings convinced some of these nuns, who came from families of noble birth now reduced to poverty, that it was impossible for them to "serve God acceptably" in a nunnery. Their desire for freedom induced them to write to their parents, saying, "Our continuance in the cloister is incompatible with the salvation of our souls." With all humility they begged their parents to help them gain their liberty, promising that they would gladly share the burdens and trials resulting from such an act. In much anxiety they waited for the reply; it came, and saddened them yet more, because their parents refused to receive them. In the hour of their deep distress they turned to Luther for advice and help. We have no record of a personal letter having been addressed to Luther, but we do know that Luther heard about their predicament and intervened in their behalf.

In Torgau lived two respectable citizens and friends of Luther, Leonhard Koppe and Wolf Tommitzsch. To them Luther entrusted the difficult task of freeing the nuns. On Easter eve, twelve young women made an opening in the clay wall of the cloister, and reached the covered wagons that were waiting for them. Of the number, three were received into their own homes. The remaining nine, unable to return home, since they came from the territory of that implacable foe of the Reformation, Duke George, were brought three days later, in covered herring barrels, as the chronicle of Torgau has it, to Luther at Wittenberg.

Luther recognized the fact that the Lord had thrown them upon him, and the charge was one which he could not refuse. But he, to whom they looked for the necessaries of life, being penniless, could not provide for them. All that he could do was to go around to the respectable families of Wittenberg, and ask that these helpless maidens be temporarily given shelter, until they could be placed in permanent homes.

Then, to protect the good name of his wards, as well as his own, Luther wrote a long letter to Leonhard Koppe, commending him for having come to the relief of innocence in distress. In this letter, which was published, Luther writes: "You have done a new work that will be celebrated throughout the whole land. Many will stigmatize it as most disgraceful, but godly people will proclaim it as most praiseworthy. . . . Some will say that, since this was secretly planned, I am a robber. But I answer: Yea, a blessed robber, just as Christ was a robber, when, by His death, He led captivity captive." Then he publishes a list of the names "of these poor children" whom he had delivered from their prison: Magdalene Staupitz, Veronica Leschau, the sisters Lanita and Ave von Goltz, Katharina von Bora, Elizabeth von Kanitz, Katharina Zeschau, and the sisters, Ave and Margaretha von Schoenfeld.

In writing to Spalatin, Luther calls the nine fugitive nuns "a sorry lot." . . . "I pity them much, but most of all the others who are dying everywhere in such numbers in their cursed and impure celibacy. You ask what I shall do with them. Some of the families have already promised me to take them; for some I shall get husbands if I can." The three who remained longest at Wittenberg were Ave von Schoenfeld, her sister Margaretha, and Katharina von Bora. According to a remark which Luther made many years later, Ave von Schoenfeld was his favorite among the nine, and had he been in a situation to marry, she would have been his choice. But she and her sister having found husbands, Katharina, whose father was now dead, was left alone. She had been taken into the house of the rich and

honorable Reichenbach, who at times held the office of burgomaster at Wittenberg. Here the girl lived about two years, during which time she learned housekeeping, and won for herself a highly creditable reputation in Wittenberg society. She was on intimate terms with the family of Lucas Cranach, the portrait painter, and meeting there the King of Denmark, received from him a ring as a token of his esteem.

So little did Luther think of marrying Katharina von Bora that he recommended her as a wife to two of his friends; one of them did not wish to follow his advice, and Katharina herself refused the other, namely Dr. Glatz, pastor at Orlamuende. Her womanly instinct read his character better than Luther had, since, some years later, Dr. Glatz had to be deposed from the ministry. The idea of marrying a man who was so repugnant to her induced Katharina to go to Amsdorf, Luther's closest friend, and complain to him that Luther was trying to force her to marry against her will a man whom she would never think of in that relation. The case, she continued, would be very different, should either Luther or Amsdorf be proposed to her. It was the negative, not the positive side of her plea that Katharina was urging in her frank and open-hearted way. Had it been otherwise, Amsdorf would have been more hasty in conferring with Luther on the subject. But, for six months, Luther seems not to have heard of this remarkable statement.

Meanwhile, Spalatin received a letter from a noble lady, Argula von Staufen, wife of the Ritter von Grumbach, both of whom were faithful friends of the Reformation. This letter, in which Argula von Staufen expressed her surprise that Luther did not marry, was forwarded to Luther. In replying to Spalatin, Luther said: "I am not surprised that folks gossip thus about me, as they gossip about many other things. But please thank the lady in my name, and tell her that I am in the hands of the Lord, as a creature whose heart He can change and rechange, destroy or revive, at any hour or moment; but as my heart has hitherto been, and is now, it will never come to pass that I shall take a wife. Not that I am insensible to the charms of married

life. I am neither wood nor stone; but my mind is averse to wedlock, because I daily expect death and the punishment of a heretic." This letter was dated November 30, 1524.

In March, 1525, Luther wrote a very pathetic letter to Amsdorf, begging him, as he valued his friendship, to come at once to Wittenberg. It seems that Luther was no longer able to bear the loneliness of his bachelor life. For an entire year, Luther confesses that, when wearied with his day's work, he tumbled at night into an unmade bed, mildewed with perspiration. Such habits were not only unnatural, but harmful to the health both of mind and body. The divine precept: "It is not good that man should be alone," must have often occurred to him in his loneliness and squalor.

In spite of the fact that Luther preached, on the Second Sunday after Epiphany, on how one should seek a wife, and in what way the marriage estate should be entered, there is no trace that he had any special interest in procuring a wife for himself, until Amsdorf came to visit him in answer to Luther's urgent request. During his stay in Wittenberg, Amsdorf must have related to Luther what Katharina von Bora had said about her willingness to listen to a proposal, if it came from Luther or from himself. Since Amsdorf had no inclination to marry either then or later, he most likely encouraged Luther to take Katharina as his helpmeet, and thus follow the advice he had given to others.

On April 16, Luther started on his trip to Mansfeld to preach against the peasants' rising. His already half-formed purpose of taking the frank nun at her word was increased by his father, whom he saw at this time, and whose earnest wish and continual importunity determined the decision.

His first announcement of his intentions is in a letter of May 4th, to the Chancellor of Duke Albert of Mansfeld, where he says, "Before I die, I hope to marry my Katie in spite of the devil." Luther's mind was evidently changing in regard to the opinion he formerly entertained toward Katharina. She had appeared to him as being proud and haughty. He now looked upon her in a more favorable light. She was not beautiful, as her existing portraits abundantly show, but

her chastity and piety more than made up for the lack of a pretty face.

Luther did not enter into matrimony unadvisedly or lightly, but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God. When he thought of taking his Katie, he prayed earnestly to God, as he himself says, that God might grant him a godly wife, with whom, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, he might lead a godly life. But after Luther had asked the Lord to guide him in the choice of a pious helpmeet, and there seemed to be no valid reason for postponing his marriage any longer, he acted with startling rapidity. Notwithstanding her confession to Amsdorf, Katharina herself was surprised when Luther took her at her word, and announced that she could have the alternative she had suggested. No friends were consulted; no announcements were made; no opportunity for the spread of gossip was given. A protracted engagement was the last thing he desired. Years later he remarked, "It is very dangerous to put off your wedding, for Satan gladly interferes and makes great trouble through evil talkers, slanderers, and friends of both parties. If I had not married quickly and secretly, and taken few into my confidence, every one would have done what he could to hinder me; for all my best friends cried, 'Not this one, but another.'"

Wittenberg was startled one morning by the information that, on the preceding evening (June 13th), its most prominent citizen had been married to this homeless refugee. As the news spread from house to house, the story ran that Luther had gone to the home of Philip Reichenbach, with his two colleagues, Bugenhagen and Justus Jonas, and with one of the professors in the law department of the university, Dr. Apel, and the painter Lucas Cranach and his wife, and that, before these witnesses, Bugenhagen, the pastor of the city church, pronounced Luther and Katharina man and wife.

Two weeks later, June 27th, the public ceremony was solemnized with a church-service, followed in the evening by a wedding-feast, to which Luther's friends were invited. He wrote to them, saying that they were to "seal and ratify"

his marriage, and "help to pronounce the benediction." The most prominent and most highly gratified guests were Luther's dear father and mother. Besides the Wittenberg professors, and the entire party who had been witnesses of the house ceremony, Amsdorf, von Dolzig, the elector's marshal, Ruehl, and two other officers from the court of the Count of Mansfeld were present. Nor was Leonhard Koppe, to whom Katharina had owed her freedom, forgotten.

Luther's marriage created a sensation. It amazed both friend and foe. Dr. Jerome Schurf, who had stood so ably by Luther at Worms, had prophesied that, in case the marriage would occur, all the world and the devils would laugh, and Luther's work would come to naught. Not so thought Luther, who predicted that all the angels would laugh, while all devils would weep and rage. Even Melanchthon lost his self-possession; for, in a letter to Camerarius on June 16th, he says: "You may perhaps be surprised that at this unhappy time, when all good gentlemen are suffering, Luther does not sympathize with them, but, as it seems, prefers a life of pleasure, and to lower his dignity, though Germany has now the greatest need of his wisdom and strength." He expects a wave of indignation which will do much damage to the evangelical cause. At the same time, he pronounces the marriage an entirely honorable one, and is confident that Luther will be able to survive the storm. Many other friends regretted that Luther had chosen Katie rather than some woman of wealth and position. The time, too, seemed inopportune. The Elector of Saxony had died only a month before. The Peasants' War was not yet ended, and the whole country was in an uproar. In these circumstances many felt as though the great Reformer's mind should have been full of things other than marriage. An old legend was current during the time of the Reformation that the Antichrist should be born of the union between a monk and a nun. When Luther's marriage became known to his enemies, they boastingly said: "Now we may expect the coming of the Antichrist"; whereas the *going* of the Antichrist was proceeding at an alarming rate of speed, so

alarming that the pope and his minions saw the handwriting on the wall, and tried to divert the attention of the world from their own wickedness by spreading slanderous tales about Luther and his bride. Ah, the renegade monk and the runaway nun! What a sinister light that union, contrary to all ecclesiastical and civil law, threw upon the whole Reformation movement! Now it was clear what Luther had in mind from the beginning!

But Luther, as usual, was unmoved by the criticisms of his friends and the attacks of his foes. He never felt so confident he was right as when his enemies denounced him. He was glad that he had exposed the glaring contradiction, propounded by popery, that marriage is a sacrament, and yet not holy enough for priests and nuns to enter. He was glad that he had by his own example restored to its former place of honor the institution of matrimony. He was glad that he had the courage of his convictions to defy the opinions of men, and to take another step in his reformatory work which, for its boldness, may well be compared with his burning of the papal bull and his heroic stand at Worms.

The people of his day were sadly in need of such an example of domestic life as Luther was able to give. "His marriage to Catharine von Bora, was, on the whole, as far as we can infer from his own confession and public appearances, a happy one," as the Catholic Encyclopedia admits. The following sayings of Luther give us a charming picture of his happy home life: "I would not change my Katie for France and Venice, because God has given her to me, and other women have worse faults, and she is true to me and a good mother to my children. If a husband always kept such things in mind, he would easily conquer the temptation to discord which Satan sows between married people." "The greatest happiness is to have a wife to whom you can trust your business. . . . Katie, you have a husband who loves you; many an empress is not so well off." "I am rich, God has given me my nun and three children: what care I if I am in debt, Katie pays the bills."

Katharina was a woman of sound sense, shrewd and

energetic — the morning star of Wittenberg, as her husband called her with reference to her early rising. She superintended a large and growing household with considerable business ability. She faithfully cared for her husband on the numerous occasions when he was ill, took a lively interest in his reformatory work, and helped to sweeten the cares and sorrows of the most beloved and the most hated man in Christendom. Born January 29, 1499, and married when she was twenty-six years old, she died December 20, 1552, after having lived in holy wedlock for twenty years, and experienced seven bare years of widowhood during the calamities of the Smalcald War. In his last will and testament, Luther refers to her as "a godly, faithful, upright wife, who has always shown herself worthy of all love and esteem," a tribute of which any woman might be proud.

Luther's Two Exiles: Wartburg and Coburg.

Rev. H. Frincke, Monroe, Mich.

High upon a lofty mountain peak in the Thuringian forest, overlooking Eisenach and a broad expanse of the surrounding country, lies the Wartburg, a fortified castle, at the time of Luther the property of Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony, Luther's sovereign. This historic old castle had at one time been the abode of that beautiful martyr, St. Elizabeth, and the favorite gathering-place of Walter von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and other German poetical celebrities. It was now destined to become the temporary residence of a greater martyr and a greater German poet. For to this retreat Luther was brought secretly and forcibly by five armed riders who intercepted him on his return to Wittenberg from the Diet of Worms.

This seizure had been arranged by the Elector himself, with the connivance of Luther and his friends, for the purpose of removing Luther for a time from the scene of his activities and out of the reach of his enemies. For be

it remembered that Luther had been excommunicated by a special bull of the pope, and that Emperor Charles V of Germany, as an answer to Luther's courageous confession at the diet, had outlawed him. It was dangerous to take sides with Luther, the heretic and outlaw, yet Frederick the Wise was his firm friend and powerful protector, and the removal of Luther to the Wartburg was but one of the many marks of friendship and favor shown Luther by this noble sovereign. And in order to be able to affirm with a clear conscience his complete ignorance, in the event of his being asked for Luther's whereabouts, the elector refused to be made a party to the secret of Luther's residence at the Wartburg. Thus this wise prince avoided an open break with the emperor and with the Church while protecting Luther and furthering the cause of the Gospel.

At the Wartburg Luther was known as Squire George, a state's prisoner. He let his beard grow, and also permitted the hair to grow over his pate. He carried a sword at his side and a gold chain around his neck as a token of noble lineage. A page attended him at the castle, and when he ventured forth he was accompanied by a groom, who acted both as a protector and as a guide. He also learned to bear himself as a knight by carrying his weapons correctly, and stroking his beard in a knightly way.

Yet he could not put off the scholar. When on his rides in the neighborhood of the castle he entered a house, he would invariably reach for the books that happened to lie about, so that his companion felt himself obliged to warn him that such a procedure was not "knightly," because "riding and writing" did not very well harmonize. Still worse, Luther usually carried a small book with him.

Whenever he met some monks or priests, he would start a theological discussion and, among other things, ask them about Luther, thereby inducing his companion to hasten their departure, in order to avoid detection.

He also kept up a secret intercourse with some Franciscan monks with whom he had become acquainted while attending school at Eisenach, and he even made a few secret visits to Eisenach.

Besides making these little visits he would pick strawberries or indulge in hunting, this "truly worthy occupation of idle men," as he termed it. On his hunts he would give himself up to theological meditations. "The hares that were hunted" were to him emblems of "the believing souls chased by the hounds, the devil and his godless bishops and theologians."

In spite of these physical exertions Luther's health was not the best. His host, the commandant of the castle, Hans von Berlepsch, with whom he was on the best of terms, and who was intelligent enough to carry on a conversation with Luther on religious topics, provided him with the best viands, which, however, did not agree with Luther, who had been accustomed to frugal monks' fare. In consequence he was troubled with constipation and impaired digestion. Pills sent him upon request by Spalatin, the court preacher of the Elector, soon cured him of these little ailments.

Worse than these were the spiritual vexations which afflicted him. He ascribed these partly to Satan, partly to his flesh, and insisted that it was more difficult to wrestle against these powers of darkness than against that devil incarnate, evil man. He traced these vexations back to the loneliness of his abode, as well as to the neglect of his friends' intercession. We may well believe that the spooky and uncanny surroundings up in that lofty chamber, especially during stormy weather, were conducive to such afflictions. Yet the tale that he threw his inkstand at the devil is a myth.

The "idleness" enforced upon him by his retreat gave him an opportunity for increased activity along literary lines.

He studied the Bible in both the Hebrew and Greek originals. He wrote an exposition of the 68th Psalm to be used for the celebration of Easter, Ascension Day, and Pentecost. He finished his exposition of the "Magnificat" for Prince John Frederick of Saxony, and continued his work on the Latin exposition of the Psalms, taking up the thread at the 22d Psalm. A discourse "On Confession, Whether the Pope Has the Power to Enjoin It" he dedicated

to his friend Franz von Sickingen, though it was intended for the common people. He also published a sermon on the Gospel for the 14th Sunday after Trinity, containing the account of the healing of the ten lepers. For his congregation at Wittenberg he wrote an exposition of the 37th Psalm. Besides these instructive and edifying writings he composed various works of a polemical nature, among others some "Annotations on the Bull of the Pope, entitled *Bulla coena Domini,*" in which the pope condemns all old and new heresies. Adding Luther's name to the list of heretics after the names of Hus and Wyclif, the pope had caused this bull to be read on Maundy Thursday in all churches. So far as we know, this custom still prevails in the Catholic Church. Luther translated this bull into the German language, and published it with his notes as a New Year's gift to the pope. He also addressed a sharp letter to Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence, who had again introduced the sale of indulgences in his diocese.

But above all his enforced "leisure" was productive of two works, through which he has performed a service of inestimable value to the Church. We refer to his German Church Postil and to his translation of the New Testament.

The Church Postil, which he began to publish while at the Wartburg, contains sermons on the Epistle- and Gospel-lessons for each Sunday. These sermons were not delivered as printed. They were intended primarily for pastors (former priests) who had no experience in the preaching of the Gospel. In an emergency they could read one of these sermons to their congregation. However, the laymen very soon got hold of the book and read it diligently to the great joy of Luther, who considered this book the best he had ever written. Yet he intended it merely as a "scaffold to the real building, the Word of God."

To make this Word of God accessible to all, he translated the New Testament into the German language. And this is his greatest achievement during his stay at the Wartburg. There were indeed German translations of the New Testament at hand. However, they were based on the Latin trans-

lation of the Bible, the so-called Vulgate. Besides, the language left much to be desired. Luther translated from the original Greek, and he made the apostles talk German "like the mother at home, the children in the street, and the business man." In order to accomplish this, it was necessary for him to create a new language, the literary German of to-day. Through his translation of the Bible Luther became the originator of the German language. By unanimous consent of classic German writers, such as J. Grimm, H. Heine, D. Strauss, W. Wackernagel, G. Freytag, and others, Luther is the first and greatest new High-German classic. He outranks the greatest heroes of German literature because he is more popular and versatile.

In three months the great work was finished. In September, 1522, Melchior Lotter, of Wittenberg, printed the first edition on three presses. Lucas Cranach embellished it with excellent wood-cuts. The title read: "The New Testament, German. Wittenberg." The first edition consisted of 5,000 copies. Price, about $6 in United States money.

It is needless to state that during his stay at the Wartburg Luther kept up a diligent correspondence with his friends at Wittenberg, notably with Spalatin, Melanchthon, Amsdorf, and Bugenhagen. He dated his letters from his "Patmos" or his "desert" or the "region of the air" or the "region of the birds."

Through his friends he heard of various excesses committed by some would-be reformers, such as Carlstadt, Didymus, and Agricola. Priests who read mass had been chased out of the churches. The Lord's Supper was being administered under both kinds to any one who desired it, without preceding confession. Pictures in the church and cloister had been torn down and the side-altars removed. Schooling and the sciences were being condemned as unnecessary, and the direct influence of the Holy Spirit upon the unlearned was taught. The so-called Zwickau Prophets, Thomas Muenzer, Nikolaus Storch, and others, denied the necessity of reading the Bible, and rejected the ministry and infant baptism.

The rumors of these disturbances induced Luther to go secretly to Wittenberg for the purpose of advising and exhorting his friends, who were in despair. After three days he returned just as secretly to the Wartburg. But when matters grew worse, he could no longer contain himself. He left the Wartburg for good, and suddenly appeared at Wittenberg, where he soon restored order, and resumed his important work as the Reformer of the Church. His stay at the Wartburg covered a period of ten months, from May 4, 1521, to March 3, 1522.

Luther's detention at the Wartburg established three important truths. It taught him that the work of the Reformation was God's work and not his own nor that of any one man. In a letter written to his sovereign in justification of his leaving the Wartburg and returning to Wittenberg against the wishes of the Elector he gives expression to this thought in the following sentences: "Your Electoral Grace must know, or ought to take cognizance of the fact, that I have received my Gospel not through men, but solely from heaven." Again: "This matter cannot be helped or promoted with the sword. God alone must promote it, without any human assistance or concern." Thus Luther was encouraged to remain in true humility, and not have his head turned by his great victory at Worms. — It taught his friends and colaborers at Wittenberg that without Luther they were at sea and completely helpless. This knowledge prevented the spirit of jealousy from creeping into their hearts. History seldom presents the spectacle of so many learned and famous men working together in such perfect harmony as Luther and his colaborers. — It taught the Church and the world at large that Luther was the divinely appointed Reformer of the Church, who was under God's special care and protection. The hour for the liberation of the Church had struck, and all the power of popes and princes was unable to prevent God's designs.

Nine years later, from April 23 to October 5, 1530, we find Luther at the Coburg, another fortified castle belonging to his sovereign, Elector John of Saxony, who had succeeded

his brother Frederick the Wise, deceased, in the electorate of Saxony. This prince favored the work of the Reformation in the same spirit of faithfulness and self-sacrifice as his noble brother. While, however, Luther and Frederick the Wise had never personally met, the intercourse between Elector John and Luther was frequent and intimate. Of all men these pious Electors of Saxony were, under God, the mainstay of Luther and his work. They were the instruments in the hands of God for the protection of his servant Luther and for the promotion of the cause of the pure Gospel. They conceived this to be their share of the great work in which Luther was engaged, and they cheerfully and devoutly lent themselves to it.

What was the occasion of Luther's sojourn at the Coburg? Emperor Charles V had issued a call for a diet to be held at Augsburg, in Bavaria, in April, 1530. The purpose was to "bring about a reconciliation of the dissenting parties in the Church, to heal the breach, to leave past errors to the Savior, to hear and to consider each one's opinion in charity and good will, to lead all to one Christian truth, and to do away with everything that had been erroneously said and done by both parties."

The principal matter, then, to be settled by the diet was the status of the Protestants. And Luther being the mouthpiece and founder of the Protestant Church, its greatest exponent and most valiant defender, it was but natural that he should attend the diet and present the cause of the Protestants. But, alas! Luther was still under the anathema of the pope, and outlawed by the emperor. It was impossible to take him to the diet. His presence there would have been an affront to the emperor and to all the Catholic princes, not to mention the danger to his life and liberty if he had dared thus to defy the emperor. It was, therefore, the part of wisdom and discretion to keep Luther away from Augsburg, and yet near enough to be able to consult him personally, if necessary. Coburg, a city in the vicinity, with its castle fort, was just such a safe retreat for Luther as was needed. It was near, and it was under the juris-

diction of the Saxon sovereign. And the castle afforded him a pleasant residence during the sessions of the diet.

But what a change in nine years! What a contrast between Wartburg and Coburg, between Worms and Augsburg! Then he stood alone, with but one single prince as his sponsor and protector. Now the cause that he espoused had gained a foothold in all Germany, and its numerous representatives and defenders were among the mightiest and noblest. "God help me!" had been the cry of Luther at Worms. And God had heard his fervent prayers, and had helped him beyond all expectations.

Although Luther could not personally attend the sessions of the diet, he was the guiding genius of the forces at the diet that stood for purity of doctrine and holiness of life. Like a modern general who sits in perfect security behind the firing-line, receiving messages by telephone and telegraph, through couriers and aeroplanes, and thus gaining a clear insight into conditions on the field of battle, which enables him to dispose of his troops and batteries in such a way that victory is assured, so Luther from the Coburg marshaled his forces and smote the enemy. How helpless were his friends without him, how weak, how faint-hearted and dejected! The sorriest of them all was Melanchthon, a good man and a learned one, well deserving of the title *Magister Germaniae,* but vacillating, weak-kneed, wholly incapable of "trying the spirits whether they were of God," always ready and eager to compromise with the enemy, and to sacrifice important truths in order to appease the wrath of the opponents. It was true what Luther once wrote him: "What troubles you is your philosophy, not your theology." It was Luther who through his letters from the Coburg strengthened, advised, encouraged, reprimanded, warned, and thus, under God, led his friends to victory. For was not the reading of the Augsburg Confession a splendid victory?

As an illustration of the sort of letters written by Luther to Melanchthon during this time we append the following: "I have received your Apology [the Augsburg Confession], and wonder why you ask what and how much we shall con-

cede to the papists. Were the question this that the Elector is threatened with danger, I would grant that we might ask how far for his sake we might yield. As far as I am concerned, you have conceded more than enough in this Apology, and if they do not accept it, I cannot see where I could concede more, unless they adduce clearer arguments and passages of Holy Writ than I have so far seen. This matter occupies me day and night. I think, meditate, search, and run through the whole Scriptures, and my confidence in this our doctrine grows apace, and I wax more firm in my determination that, God willing, I shall allow nothing to be taken away from me, no matter how it turns out. — It did not at all please me to see you write that you had followed my leadership in this matter. In this cause I neither desire to be your leader nor even to be called such. I shall not tolerate that word, even though it may be explained more innocently. If this cause is not jointly and completely yours, I shall not permit it to be called mine, and yet have it saddled upon you. If it is my cause alone, I shall manage it myself.

"In my last letter I hope I have comforted you not to death, but to new life. What else can I do? You worry because you cannot grasp the result and end of the cause with your hands. But if you could understand it, I would have nothing to do with it, much less would I be its leader. God has put it in a place which does not occur in your rhetoric and science, whose name is — Faith. All things that we cannot see nor feel are placed upon this (Heb. 11, 1). Whoever tries, as you do, to make these invisible things visible and tangible will receive trouble and tears as the reward of his labor. Thus it is with you. All our encouragement is lost on you. The Lord has said that He would dwell in the thick darkness (1 Kings 8, 11), and hath made darkness His secret place (Ps. 18, 12). Whosoever pleases may arrange it differently. Had Moses insisted on understanding how he would escape from the army of Pharaoh, Israel would still be in Egypt. May God increase your faith and ours! If we have Him, what can Satan and the whole world do to us? If we have no faith ourselves, why should we not

at least comfort ourselves with the faith of others? For most assuredly there are such as believe, even if we do not believe, — unless there be no Church on earth and Christ cease to be with us before the end of the world (Matt. 28, 20). For, prithee, if He is not with us, where in the world is He? If we are not the Church, or at least a part of the Church, where, then, is the Church? Or are the dukes of Bavaria, Ferdinand, the pope, the Turk, and their ilk the Church? If we have not the Word of God, who, then, has it? If God be for us, who can be against us? (Rom. 8, 31.) To be sure, we are sinners and ingrates, but that is no reason why He should be a liar. And even though we err in manifold ways, yet we cannot err in this sacred cause. But you do not listen to this, consequently Satan oppresses you and makes you ill. May Christ heal you! To this end I pray fervently and unceasingly. Amen."

Luther knew, of course, that his cause was God's cause, and that God alone could save and promote the work of the Reformation. He therefore turned to God in prayer. Veit Dietrich, his amanuensis, records the fact that Luther prayed three hours daily, setting aside for prayer those hours that were the most suitable for study. He heard him pray several times, and was overwhelmed with the power of his prayers. The results of his prayers were seen in Augsburg. What Luther had asked in the secrecy of his closet God rewarded him openly.

Prayer was the comfort in his sorrow. While in Coburg, he received the news of his father's death. Immediately he took his Book of Psalms, went into his study, and spent the day in praying and weeping. The next day the traces of his tears were still visible on his face.

Luther occupied the whole castle of Coburg. All the keys were in his possession. A guard, consisting of thirty men, protected the castle and its inmates. In complete security and in the midst of the most pleasant surroundings he passed his time in prayer, meditation, and literary work. He was especially prolific in letter-writing. He wrote as many as six letters in one day. He humorously called the castle

"Grubok," the reverse of Koburg. Then again he called the Coburg his Mount Sinai, but promised to turn it into Mount Zion, and to build three huts, one for the psalms, one for the prophets, and one for Aesopus.

Luther was a brilliant letter-writer. We have read with delight his letter to Melanchthon printed above. He also wrote home. His wife sent him a picture of his little daughter Magdalena. It gladdened his heart, though it was very dark. A letter written to his "dear sonny Haenschen" is a literary gem. Another letter, written to Chancellor Brueck, to whose fortitude and optimism the Lutheran Church owed much, holds rank with the best ever written. Here it is: "I have written several times to my most gracious sovereign and to our friends, so that I almost think I have done too much writing, especially to my most gracious sovereign, as though I doubted that God's help and comfort were more and stronger with his Electoral Grace than with me. However, I have done so on account of our friends, some of whom are sorrowful and worried, as though God had forgotten us; while He cannot forget us, except He first forget Himself, — unless our cause is not His cause and our doctrine not His Word. Otherwise, if we are certain and do not doubt that it is His cause and Word, then our prayers are certainly heard, and help is granted and ready, so that we may be helped. There can be no doubt about that. For He says: 'Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of My hand' (Is. 49, 15).

"Recently I saw two miracles. The first is this: Looking out of the window, I beheld the stars in the sky and the whole beautiful dome of God, and yet no pillar upon which the Master had set such dome. Still the sky did not fall down, and the dome, too, is firm. Now there are some that seek such pillars, and would like to touch and grasp them. Not being able to do so, they struggle and tremble as though the sky would surely collapse, and that from no other reason than because they do not grasp nor see the pillars. If they could grasp them, the sky would be firm.

"The other is this: I saw great, thick clouds sail above us with such a load that they might have been compared to a great ocean; yet I saw no bottom upon which they rested nor a vat that held them; still they did not fall upon us, but greeted us with a sour face and flew away. After they had passed, there shone forth both the floor and the roof that held them, the rainbow. That was indeed a weak, thin, little floor and roof, disappearing in the clouds, and more of a shadow shining through stained glass than a powerful bottom, so that one must needs despair on account of the bottom as well as on account of the weight of the water. Yet it was a fact that a shadow apparently so feeble bore the weight of the water and protected us. Still there are such as consider, estimate, and fear the thickness of the clouds and the heavy weight of the water more than those thin, narrow, and light shadows, because they would like to feel the power of such a shadow; if they cannot do that, they fear the cloud will create a deluge.

"Thus must I jest with your Honor in a friendly way, and yet I do not write jestingly; for it gave me especial joy when I heard how your Honor above all others maintains good courage and cheerfulness in this our trouble. This work that God has given us in His mercy He will bless through His Holy Spirit, and promote it, and provide ways and means to help us whenever and wherever it pleases Him, and not forget nor neglect us. They have not yet half succeeded, these men of blood, nor are they all at home again, or wherever they would like to be. Our rainbow is weak, their clouds are powerful; but the final outcome will be in our favor. Your Honor will please pardon my prattle, and comfort Magister Philip and all the others. May Christ comfort and sustain our most gracious sovereign!"

Such words could not fail to inspire Luther's friends with confidence and trust in God for a successful termination of their cause.

Luther was a great lover of nature. The assembly of crows, jackdaws, and other birds in a grove under his window gave him occasion to write a letter to his boarders at home,

in which, in a humorous vein, he describes the diet of the birds. "They do not care for great palaces and halls. Their hall is arched with the beautiful broad sky, their floor is naught but a field wainscoted with nice green branches, and their walls are as wide as the world." He could not find out, he said, what they had resolved to do. As far as he had understood their interpreter, however, they were about to engage in a great warfare against wheat, barley, oats, malt, and all kinds of grain and corn, "and many a one will perform great deeds and be made a knight."

Those birds remind him of the sophists and papists with their preaching and writing, who are ever before him with their lovely voices and sermons, and he sees how useful they are in consuming everything on earth and croaking in return by way of pastime.

Passing on to other literary work performed by him while at Castle Coburg, we mention the exposition of the first 25 Psalms, which he dictated to Veit Dietrich, and the translation of the Bible, which had advanced to the prophets.

One of his most important writings bore the title: "Exhortation to the Clergy Assembled at the Diet of Augsburg." This discourse is really his Augsburg Confession. He admonishes the bishops to abolish all errors in doctrine, and not to hinder the spreading of the Gospel. The keynote sounded in this powerful address may be heard in the following sentence: "If I live, I shall be your pestilence; if I die, I will be your death."

Melanchthon had finished a draft of the Augsburg Confession, which the Elector sent to Luther for his opinion. He read it carefully, and summed up his verdict in the following words: "I have read Magister Philip's Apology. I like it very much, and have nothing to amend or to change in it. Nor would such a thing be proper, since I cannot tread so lightly and softly. Christ, our Lord, grant that it may produce much good, as we hope and pray. Amen."

This so-called Apology was subsequently read on June 25th at the Diet of Augsburg before the emperor, the sovereigns of the various states and the churchmen assembled, and since

then is known as the Augsburg Confession, the most precious jewel among the confessions of our dear Lutheran Church.

Other writings composed at Coburg were: "Circular Letter an Translating and the Intercession of the Saints"; "Sermon on Sending the Children to School"; "A Recantation of Purgatory"; "Of the Keys"; "Admonition Regarding the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord."

Nor was the household at Coburg Castle forgotten or neglected. Luther preached regularly to them. On Michaelmas his subject was, "The Angels." On October 2, he preached on the raising of the young man at Nain.

This was his last sermon at Coburg Castle. On October 5, he left for Wittenberg, arriving there about October 16. Was he satisfied? He had every reason to be thankful for what, by the gracious help of God, had been accomplished. The cause of the Reformation had gained prominence, stability, and recognition. Neither Emperor Charles V nor the pope and their henchmen could frustrate it. The time had come when the power of popery began to crumble slowly, but surely, while the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in all its sweetness and purity, gained the ascendancy, spreading comfort, faith, hope, knowledge, and freedom everywhere, until to-day it is the ruling power of the world. The reading of the Augsburg Confession paved the way for the Nuremberg Peace Treaty, which was signed on August 2, 1532, two years later, by the emperor, who, among other things, granted free exercise of worship to the Lutherans.

Wittenberg in the Days of Luther.

Rev. W. Koepchen, New York, N. Y.

The history of this ancient and famous city, where Dr. Martin Luther spent the greater part of his life, and where Rome's huge engine of fraud and oppression, constructed by grasping monks and perfidious priests, came to a sudden stop, dates back to the year 1180. Wittenberg was at that time a frontier fortress, erected for the protection

of the German settlers against the depredations of the surrounding remnants of the former Slavonic inhabitants. It received its name from the white sand hill upon which it stood.

When, in 1486, Frederick III of Saxony became a member of the Electoral College, — the body of princes formerly entitled to choose the Emperor, — he made Wittenberg the capital of his northern territory, and began to beautify the town with a number of imposing buildings, including a castle, a church, a monastery, and a university.

Luther's first visit to this city was in 1508. He came to lecture at the newly founded university, and at the same time to enroll as a student of its theological department. Though his stay was only temporary, he freely expressed his surprise that a university should have been established in such an unpromising place, which was, in his opinion, on the very borders of civilization. The surrounding country was flat, its soil was poor and in strong contrast to the beautiful hills and fertile dales of Eisenach and the golden meadows of Erfurt.

In the fall of the year 1511, Luther took up his permanent residence in Wittenberg, and it is from this time that our description of the city dates.

Wittenberg, in the days of Luther, was a fortified town, surrounded by a wall of earth and brick and a very wide and deep moat. The wall had a thickness of sixty feet, and was pierced by three gates. The Castle Gate was at the western end, the Elster Gate — leading to the suburb Elster — was at the eastern end, and the Elbe Gate was at the southern end of the town. This Elbe Gate was about fifteen minutes' walk from the bridge, which, at this point, spanned the river and connected Wittenberg with the country on the south banks of the Elbe. This bridge, erected by Elector Frederick in 1486, was 1,050 feet long and 33 feet wide. It was partly burned by the Swedes in 1637. Teams and cattle crossing this bridge paid a small toll. For pedestrians this tax amounted to three pfennigs per year, payable in three instalments. Merchants, clergy, and noblemen, how-

ever, were exempt from these charges. Toll was also collected at Wittenberg from the various boats doing business on the broad and winding river Elbe. Fishing in the river was free to all, but the fish caught had first to be offered for sale to the bailiff of the castle.

Wittenberg was not a small town as towns were classed at that time. It had within its walls some three thousand inhabitants. Mainz at that time numbered no more than six thousand, Dresden but five thousand, and Meissen only two thousand souls. According to the tax list of 1513, Wittenberg had 382 taxable buildings within the city limits. One hundred and seventy-two of these were houses occupied by "brew-heirs" (*brauerben*), citizens who were permitted to brew beer in their homes; one hundred and eighty-four were small houses (*buden*), whose occupants (*budellinge*) were not allowed the privilege of brewing beer; and twenty-six homes were outside the wall, but within the limits of the city. Besides paying a brew-tax of twenty groschen per year, each brewer had military duties, and was compelled to own a complete outfit of armor and weapons. Of the *budellinge* and suburbanites only one out of four was expected to own such an outfit. For its defense the town had in reserve one hundred sets of armor, cannons, guns, wagons with implements of war, provisions, and tents.

The citizens were mostly farmers, artisans, and tradesmen, and their homes were small buildings of wood and clay, thatched with straw. The streets were narrow and unimproved, and the many cows, pigs, geese, and chickens kept by the inhabitants only helped to make matters worse. The streets had names, *e. g.*, Kollegien-, Schlosz-, Buergermeister-, Juristenstrasse, but the houses were not numbered. No streets were lighted; people who were out after sundown carried lanterns. Two brooks, The Lazy and The Quick, and a number of public and private wells supplied the town with the necessary water. These wells and brooks were uncovered, and were, without doubt, instrumental in spreading the periodical visitations of the plague. For mutual protection against fire every citizen was compelled to provide himself

with a pail, made of leather, an ax, and a ladder, and to keep a barrel filled with water next to his house. Augsburg was the first German city to use a fire-engine. That was in 1518. Wittenberg saw no such fire-fighting apparatus during Luther's time, probably because there was only one fire worth mentioning during all those long years. There were no floods from the overflowing Elbe during Luther's time, such as occurred in 1432, and again in 1594, and in 1598, when the water was driven from four to six feet against the Elster Gate.

The city of Wittenberg enjoyed many privileges. It had its own court, coined its own money, collected the fees for the stands of the public markets held three times each year, and was nearly entirely independent from the jurisdiction of the castle bailiff. It owned several villages and their incomes, and had the exclusive control of the wine-trade within the city walls.

The pride of Wittenberg, however, and a source of great revenue for its citizens, was its university, the Collegium Fridericianum, opened October 18, 1502, with 416 enrolled students. This school of learning, which, under the guidance of the Lord, became the spiritual heart of Germany, owed its inception to Emperor Maximilian I. At the Diet of Worms in 1495, he suggested to the princes that they found universities within their provinces to provide higher education for their subjects. This suggestion met with the enthusiastic approval of the cultured and liberal elector, Frederick of Saxony. Among the reasons given why Wittenberg was selected as the site for the proposed high school was the hint of the emperor that the people of Wittenberg and vicinity were in sore need of an education such as would be supplied by the proposed high school. And this was indeed the case. There was an appalling ignorance among the citizens of this border-town. Very few could write their names, and they would sign necessary documents by making their sign manual. One solitary school, rather small in size and primitive in its equipment, supplied the required instruction for the boys. Its teacher, George Mohr, was of

a very erratic temperament. When the radical and impetuous Carlstadt had his first brainstorm, in 1522, and began to denounce education, Mohr closed his school, and advised the people not to send their children. The building, located on the south side of the cemetery at the parish church (Stadtkirche), was thereupon used as a bakery. It was reopened in 1523 with a new teacher, but another twenty years passed before the city erected a larger and more up-to-date building. The girls received instruction at the parsonage by one of the parish priests.

Although the university owed its charter to the emperor, and not to the pope, it was a truly denominational college of the sixteenth century. Its professors were obliged to take the common oath, that they would teach nothing contrary to the established doctrines of the Church, and Frederick had, therefore, no difficulty in obtaining from the Cardinal-Legate to Germany, Raymundus, consent and blessing for his institution. The careful elector, however, applied directly to the pope, and received, on June 20, 1507, from Julius II a special bull, sanctioning Raymundus's act, and granting to the University of Wittenberg all the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the most ancient schools of Europe. This gaining of the pope's confirmation of the charter of Wittenberg University was a very wise and shrewd afterthought of the cautious elector, for as late as 1533 it happened that in Vienna they refused recognition to a Wittenberg Doctor because that university had been founded without the pope's authority.

As long as the university was in a formative state, from 1502—1507, and its revenues too limited for the support of a better-equipped corps of instructors, the chapter-house of the Castle Church and the Augustinian cloister at the Elster Gate supplied most of the teachers. The department of Theology had four professorships. Three of these were filled by members of the above-named chapter-house and the fourth by John von Staupitz from the cloister. Staupitz was a man of high scholarly attainments, and since 1503 vicar-general of the Augustinian order in Saxony. As one of Frederick's

chief advisers in the founding of the university and as dean of the theological faculty he not only called eminent scholars to important chairs, but provided for the training of future professors by appointing the most promising young scholars among the Augustinians under his jurisdiction as instructors. In November, 1508, seven such monks were sent by him to Wittenberg, where, although engaged in university work, they were to reside at the Augustinian monastery, and devote a large portion of their time to study.

In the department of Law, which comprised five professorships, we find besides the noted Italian jurist, Peter of Ravenna, four teachers from the chapter-house. Among these was the punctilious and cautious ecclesiastical lawyer, Jerome Schurf, who was Luther's adviser at the Diet of Worms, and since 1509 Henning Goeden, the monarch among the jurists of his time.

The department of Medicine had three professorships. Its first dean was the elector's physician, Martin Pollich, who had performed an important part in founding this university. The elector made him the first rector of the institution.

The department of Philosophy was comprised of the following ten professorships: Oratory, Poetry, Greek, Hebrew and other Oriental languages, Logic and Metaphysics, Physics, lower and higher Mathematics, Practical Philosophy and History. Among this faculty we find the most stimulating of Luther's Erfurt professors, the scholastic philosopher Jodocus Trutvetter, and the remaining five of the twelve prelates of the chapter-house.

The different departments had their patron saints, whose days were celebrated with masses in the Castle Church. In honor of the Virgin Mary, the true patroness of the studies, Saturday was free from the duty of attending lectures. Wittenberg University was the first European institution to teach the three ancient languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The first professor of Greek was Melanchthon, who arrived in Wittenberg in 1518. A professor of Hebrew was secured from Louvain in 1519, but proved unsatisfactory,

and his place was then taken by Aurogallus, who became a most valuable help to Luther in the translation of the Old Testament.

The buildings necessary to carry on the university work were erected by the elector. They contained lecture-halls and lodging-rooms for the students. The basement of the large building on College Street (Kollegienstrasse) was given up for sports and purposes of recreation, such as playing billiards, chess, etc. The price asked for board and lodging was very reasonable, and students were assured that they could get along with eight gulden per year. One gulden at that time was equal to 21 groschen; 1 groschen equaled 9 pfennige; 1 pfennig equaled 2 heller. As the number of students increased, many found lodging with the families of the professors and other citizens.

From the year 1502 until 1507, the total expense of the university was paid by the elector. But the project proved too expensive for the resources of this most liberal prince. After its return from Herzberg, whither it had removed during the plague in 1506, Frederick placed the Castle Church and all its revenues at the disposal of his university, thereby assuring it a regular income of money, meat, hay, grain, poultry, and eggs.

May 1, 1507, the cultured and refined jurist, Christopher Scheurl, was elected rector of the university. His energetic administration contributed much toward increasing the number of students, which had dwindled from 416 in 1502 to 112 in 1507. He was a strict disciplinarian, and insisted on faithful study. The number of instructors and lecturers in 1507 rose to thirty-eight.

The elector ruled the university by a Board of Supervisors (Quatuor Studii Generalis Reformatores), consisting of four members of the faculties. They were responsible to the elector. The deans of the different faculties were responsible to this board for the promptness and efficiency of the teachers in their departments.

The citizens of Wittenberg took great pride in this institution of learning, so unexpectedly placed into their

town, and showed their loyalty by sending to the opening term, October 18, 1502, more than forty students from their town, the monks not included. No doubt, they made a concerted effort and sent some who were not prepared to enter such a school of advanced learning; but they sent them and helped swell the list of immatriculations. Even in 1507, when Scheurl was rector, the university had upon its list five Wittenberg boys under fourteen years of age. The first rector, Martin Pollich, owner of the "Apotheke," *i. e.*, the drug and general merchandise store of the town, was a citizen of Wittenberg. He was succeeded by two other citizens: Bartholomew Kranapoll, who was rector during the second semester, and his brother John, who held this office during the third semester. The rector of the university was elected every six months,, on the first of May and on the eighteenth of October. A number of Wittenberg professors married the daughters of Wittenberg families, *e. g.*, Melanchthon, Augustine Schurff, and Sebald Muensterer, the latter of whom married a sister of Jerome Krappe, a tailor, and from 1524 to 1526 burgomaster of the town.

With but one exception, in July, 1520, there were no misunderstandings between citizens and students during Luther's time. Boys will be boys, even if they understand Greek to a certain depth and Hebrew to a certain speed. Individual citizens were at times annoyed by petty tricks and boisterous behavior of some of the students, but in general there existed an all-around good feeling. The small town offered too little diversion for the boys to disport themselves as at other institutions in larger cities, and the university insisted upon good behavior and earnest work. Hazing was, nevertheless, carried on, and the students, according to a custom of that time, carried weapons. This proved fatal in 1512, when Rector Erbar was assassinated by a drunken student, Balthasar. This unfortunate young man was captured, and publicly executed on the market-place in Wittenberg.

Luther's residence in Wittenberg was the Augustinian cloister, near the Elster Gate. The Augustinians are said

to have had a convent in Wittenberg since 1365. Their buildings, however, had become so time-worn that Frederick, who expected to obtain many of his professors from the inmates of this cloister, resolved to renew them, and began with rebuilding the dormitory, which was finished by 1504. This "Black Cloister," as it was called by the inhabitants of Wittenberg, was a handsome three-story and attic brick building, with ample room to accommodate as many as forty monks at one time. It was on the main thoroughfare, named College Street, from which it was separated by a lawn, the former cemetery of the monks. This lawn was enclosed by a brick wall, and contained a number of trees, among these the famous pear-tree, under which Luther pleaded with Staupitz to be excused from the promotion to the degree of Doctor of Theology and its responsibilities. The chapel of the monastery was torn down in 1542, and its material used for the strengthening of the city walls.

When the former monks had all renounced monasticism and left, the elector made Luther a present of the building, including the court in front and the gardens in the rear. This gift was legally confirmed by Frederick's brother and successor, John, in 1526. Luther undertook extensive alterations to adapt the building to his convenience, including the equipment of a bathroom with tubs. Wittenberg, in Luther's time, had many public and private baths, for the people preferred warm to cold baths. Swimming in the near-by Elbe was discouraged and forbidden.

Luther's house was the center of very active social life, and at times very unrestful. Colleagues and neighbors were frequently with him. Out-of-town guests were numerous, and his hospitality to all comers was generous and abundant. Luther's household expenses were very great. His almost reckless hospitality would have bankrupted him, had it not been for the enormous energy and ceaseless activity of his wife. She was an early riser, and, like other women of her time, cultivated her fields, raised vegetables, kept cattle, swine, and fowl, brewed beer, and had her own fish-pond. For these things Luther had neither time, aptitude, nor inclination.

When the Black Cloister was erected, the old hospital, which formerly occupied this site, was torn down. In 1516, the city erected a new hospital, just outside the Elster Gate. It was near this hospital that Luther, on December 10, 1520, broke permanently with the Roman Church, and gave dramatic expression to his renunciation of the pope's authority by publicly burning the Canon Law, and the bull of excommunication issued against him.

Outside the Elster Gate was the cemetery, more than two hundred years old at the time when Luther's daughter Elizabeth was there put to rest.

Besides the Augustinians, the Franciscans had a monastery and a chapel in Wittenberg. Though very old and rather dilapidated, it served such professors at the university as belonged to this order as a home. When the monks had all left, Luther asked the Elector John, in 1527, to use the buildings as a hospice for the poor and suffering. In 1544, the elector turned the convent church into a granary, but the cloister remained a home for the poor. This convent stood in the Juristenstrasse. It was destroyed by fire during the Seven Years' War, and was never rebuilt.

Luther's colleague Melanchthon also owned his own house on College Street, which is preserved in its original form. It was assessed at one hundred gulden. His taxes amounted to seven groschen and six pfennige. Luther's tailor, Kunz Krug, paid the same amount of taxes. Melanchthon and Luther received an unusually large salary for university professors of the day, but their unbounded and often abused hospitality kept them in pinching circumstances the greater part of their lives. Their families were on most intimate terms, and Melanchthon not only immensely enhanced the fame of the university, but also proved himself a most efficient aid to Luther and his great work. Melanchthon did more than any other man to reform the educational system of the country.

By urgent request of the town council of Wittenberg, Luther became an assistant in the parish church in 1514. Nicolaus Fabri de Grueneberg was parish priest from 1508

to 1515. He was followed by Simon Heinsius, who remained until 1523, and then came John Bugenhagen, whose services became most valuable in the sphere of church organization.

This parish or city church stood in the middle of the town, and is still a conspicuous landmark. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and its oldest portions date back to the year 1300. The edifice, surmounted by double towers, is large and massive, but without any architectural pretensions. It was incorporated with the Castle Church in 1507. The interior is commodious and well adapted to Lutheran worship, which was instituted there in 1522. Its large bell weighs more than five tons and was cast in 1499. Near the altar is the memorial tablet of Rector Erbar, who was murdered by a student.

As preacher of St. Mary's Church Luther soon became the most powerful influence for righteousness in the city. He knew something of the shams and falsities that prevailed, and fearlessly assailed them in his lectures and sermons. The moral condition of the city also left much to be desired. The citizens had not yet adjusted themselves to the new situation arising from the presence of hundreds of young and often unruly men in the formerly so quiet little place, and found themselves helpless before the growing demoralization. Luther soon became familiar with existing conditions, and called upon the university and city authorities to take the matter actively in hand. He preached against astrology, witchcraft, saint-worship, religious pilgrimages, omens, signs, and charms, the poular beliefs of his time and town, and thereby brought about a great improvement. What at first was only a temporary expedient became a fixed arrangement, when, in 1515, he received from the town council a regular call to supply appointments in the church to all who were otherwise unprovided for. His sermons were preached in the German language. For this parish work he received no compensation, but the city council often sent presents of food and clothing to the busy professor's home.

Next to St. Mary's Church stood the parsonage. The

building, however, was so poor that Bugenhagen, who became pastor of the Stadtkirche in 1523, bought a house of his own in the Neustrasse, and probably lived there the greater part of his life. The parsonage was repaired in 1605, and renewed in 1731, and is now called Bugenhagen-House after this first Lutheran pastor of the city church.

Christian Doerink, the goldsmith of the town and father-in-law of Luther's colleague, the noted jurist Schneidewein, was treasurer of the parish church, and paid Bugenhagen's salary semiannually. The salary was two hundred gulden per year in money, presents from the city council, and refreshments from the Ratskeller under the City Hall. It was this Christian Doerink who supplied the new wagon and the three horses that brought Luther to Worms and back to Eisenach, receiving payment for wagon and horses for seven weeks from the city treasurer at Wittenberg. At the shop of this goldsmith Luther, Melanchthon, and other professors pawned their silver and gold cups when in urgent need of ready money.

Adjoining the city church was the parish cemetery, and in it the chapel of Corpus Christi, founded about 1377 and richly endowed.

A short distance from the city church is the Market Square with its many booths, public scale, and the City Hall. This City Hall had also become so time-worn that it was replaced during Luther's time by a new one. The new building was begun in 1523 and completed in 1540. The city council consisted of three distinct groups of councilors, each group changing about every three years. Thus there were three burgomasters (*Magistri Civium; Magistri Consulum*), three judges (*Judices Civitatis*), and three divisions of councilmen of six in each group. Among the many privileges enjoyed by these councilmen was their annual feast at the expense of the city, and the permission to have a larger number of guests at a wedding. A burgomaster was permitted to invite seven tables of guests, councilmen were allowed six tables, whilst the common people had to cele-

brate with less than five tables of guests, and were not permitted to serve more than three meals at any one occasion.

Wittenberg had several very important guilds: associations of bakers, butchers, tailors, shoemakers, and tanners. They took a very important and active part in the political, religious, and social life of the city. Each guild had its own saint and an altar in the parish church, upon which candles were lighted, and where prayers were read for the souls of their departed members. They had their own plots in the cemeteries and their own priests. Every member was compelled to attend the funeral services of their departed associates, either in person or represented by their wives. Failure to be present or represented meant a fine of six pfennigs. The dues in these guilds amounted to the income of three days per year per member. These guilds proved a great obstacle to the Reformation.

Before leaving the Market Square, it might be stated that all executions took place in this busiest center of the city; that the prison was a place to keep out of, not a place to live in; and that the law in vogue was "Der Sachsenspiegel," which was publicly read once a year.

The largest and best-furnished private dwelling in Wittenberg at Luther's time was the Cranach House, commonly called the "Apotheke." Lucas, the painter, came to Wittenberg to fill the position of court-painter. From his brush we have many portraits of some of the leading notables of the day, among these Luther and his parents. He had many assistants, for the princes often needed a large number of small paintings of themselves to distribute among friends. Besides being an artist, he was also a prosperous business man. In 1520, he bought from Pollich's (1513) successor, Dr. Martinus Josagk, the "Apotheke," the only drug store in Wittenberg for more than three hundred years. With this "Apotheke" went the privilege to sell spices, merchandise, and also sweet wine, if such could not be obtained at the Ratskeller under the City Hall. Cranach, as he was commonly called, was also part-owner in a printing establishment, and became the richest citizen in Wittenberg, paying taxes

upon property valued at more than four thousand gulden. Slowly, but surely, he became Luther's friend and ardent disciple. With him and his family Luther enjoyed the closest friendship as long as he lived, and the stately home of the prosperous artist was one of his favorite resorts.

Adjoining the Cranach House was an old inn, the "Black Bear," where Luther dined when he was recalled by the city council from the Wartburg. Luther, owning no money at that time, had the fare charged. The bill, amounting to forty-two groschen, was paid by the city council in 1525.

Besides Cranach, Wittenberg had other printers. To reach the public ear, Luther made effective use of brief pamphlets, becoming, in a short time, the most active and influential pamphleteer in Germany. Desiring to have his books and pamphlets sold as cheaply as possible, Luther refused to take money for his manuscripts, though more than one publisher made a fortune out of them. Among the various printers in Wittenberg we may mention Johann Grueneberg, a neighbor of the Reformer, who printed his "Romans" in 1515; Melchior Lother, who came from Basel and brought Greek letters; and Hans Lufft, several times burgomaster. He printed the first complete German Bible in 1534.

Another center of the religious life of Wittenberg was the Castle Church. This building, which made Wittenberg world-renowned, was erected in 1499, and became a point from which the neighboring village churches were supplied with priests, a work that had necessitated the founding of a chapter-house for the accommodation of the clergy. This church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All Saints, and was a favorite place of pilgrimage. Large indulgence was to be gained from the sight of its holy treasures and from contributions to its support. It had nineteen altars. Its door served as the "blackboard" for the university announcements. Henning Goeden was priest at this church. He was succeeded in 1521 by Justus Jonas, who remained until 1541, and was then followed by Caspar Cruciger.

Adjoining the church was the castle, erected by Frederick

during the years 1493 to 1499. It was a beautiful building, constructed from the material taken from the old fortress and the ruined castle of Zahna. Frederick was a wise, judicious, and capable ruler and a pious and God-fearing prince. He thought very highly of Luther, and showed him many marks of favor, but, near as was his palace to the monastery, he never met Luther. At first there was no reason for summoning the meek monk to the castle, and after Luther had gained world-wide prominence, the elector's native prudence kept him from identifying himself too intimately with the Reformer's affairs. The discreet and peace-loving Elector Frederick usually resided in Altenburg, Torgau, or at Castle Lochau.

At the castle in Wittenberg the famous meeting of Luther and the papal legate Cardinal Vergerius took place. Vergerius had come to "that sink of heresy" in November, 1535, and invited the banned and outlawed Luther to breakfast with him.

The light which came from Wittenberg diffused itself through the whole world. Luther's work in this insignificant town was the commencement of a new era in the history of the human mind, and its beneficial influence has been felt in every branch of learning, in every department of science, and in every institution of civil society.

Luther and His Friends.

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Every great world-movement centers about one person who, as it were, gathers in himself the aspirations, hopes, and yearnings of his time, and, heroically struggling forward, brings about the realization of these hopes and aspirations. While he is, in a sense, a part of the great tidal wave which bears him and his age along, he rises above the flood, guides it, directs it, and endows the whole movement with the stamp of his individuality. Other men are drawn toward him, are carried away by his spirit, and become part

of the movement. They, in turn, become active agents moving others; but they are not original, independent forces; they have their power only in virtue of their association with the master mind. "They," to use a figure of Taine's, "constitute the chorus, the master mind is the leading man. They sing the same piece together, and at times the chorist is equal to the solo artist, but only at times."

Thus in the great revolutionary movement that made an end of the Middle Ages and its whole cultural system, the great master mind, the genius, the originator, is Luther; his friends and coworkers were merely followers, satellites, in a spiritual sense, the children of his loins.

'Tis true, many, perhaps most of his ideas had been expressed by others before him. Many a pious soul had seen the abuses in the medieval Church. Great men had risen against the tyranny of Rome, and had accomplished great things. But they all had remained within the bounds of the cultural and religious system of the Middle Ages and its characteristic mode of thought. Luther, however, at the decisive points broke through the iron ring of tradition and prejudice which had bounded the mental horizon of men in the Middle Ages, and he thereby ushered in the Modern Era.

Now, Luther did not do this unaided. He attracted a great number of highly gifted men to his cause, who rendered valiant service and invaluable aid. But these men were not originators, were not geniuses, were not master minds, but mere day-laborers in the great cause. They did Luther's work, under Luther's guidance. Filled with Luther's spirit, they carried out Luther's ideas. And whatever has had lasting value in their work was done in Luther's spirit; whatever was not done in Luther's spirit proved, in the end, to be without value, aye, detrimental to the cause.

Such men were Philip Schwarzerd, John Brenz, John Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, and George Burkhardt, or Spalatinus.

By far the foremost and greatest among these is Philip Schwarzerd, whose German name was Grecized *Melanchthon.*

He was born in the small Swabian town of Bretten. His father was a man of wealth, and his mother was a niece of the famous Humanist Reuchlin, who took a liking to the ambitious lad, and supervised his education. Young Philip, therefore, received an excellent education. His first teacher was a private tutor, recommended by Reuchlin. After a few years of training under this most able, though, according to modern educational ideas, almost brutally severe master, he attended the Latin school at Pforzheim, where he was taught the most advanced humanistic learning of his time. At the early age of fifteen he received the degree of Artium Baccalaureus at the University of Heidelberg. Coming up for the master's degree, however, in the following year, his application was denied "because of his youth and boyish appearance." He thereupon left Heidelberg and matriculated at Tuebingen, where, on the twenty-fifth day of January, 1514, he received the degree of Master of Arts. During the next few years his fame as a classical scholar spread throughout Germany, and in 1518, on the recommendation of Reuchlin, he was called as professor of Greek to the newly founded University of Wittenberg.

From that day to the end of his life he was closely associated with the great work of the Reformation of the Church, which Luther had begun on that memorable thirty-first of October of the previous year.

Luther at once formed a correct estimate of Melanchthon's ability. He wrote to Spalatin (De Wette, *Luthers Briefe,* 1, 134. 135): "As regards our Philip Melanchthon, everything shall be done as you suggest. On the fourth day after his arrival he delivered a most learned and chaste oration to the delight and admiration of all. It is now not necessary for you to commend him. We quickly retracted the opinion we had formed of him when we first saw him. Now we laud and admire the reality in him, and thank the most illustrious Prince and your kindness. Be at pains to commend him most heartily to the Prince. I desire no other Greek teacher so long as we have him."

And Luther was not disappointed in Melanchthon. Philip

was all that Luther expected of him, and more. Luther himself had found the Truth by studying the Bible in the original tongues, and he had lectured on several books of the Old as well as of the New Testament; but he was not professedly a technical Greek scholar, though his knowledge of Greek was by no means small. In Melanchthon, however, the university now had a Grecian of the Grecians. And all of his knowledge of Greek Melanchthon employed in the service of theology. By applying his knowledge of Greek to the sacred text and interpreting it to the theological students, he carried out Luther's idea that all sound knowledge of Scripture and of all sound theology must be based upon a thorough study of the sacred text in the original tongue. He thereby soon made himself indispensable to Luther, who valued him highly both as a friend and as a scholar of great ability and learning. Luther said of him: "Philip has only the humble title of Master, but he excels all the Doctors. There is no one living adorned with such gifts. He must be held in honor. Whoever despises this man, him God will despise." (*Corpus Reformatorum* 10, 302.) And in his Preface to Melanchthon's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians* he wrote: "I am rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike. I am born to fight innumerable monsters and devils. I must remove stumps and stones, cut away thistles and thorns, and clear the wild forests; but Master Philip comes along softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy, according to the gift which God has abundantly bestowed upon him."

In these words and in many others Luther expressed his high opinion of Melanchthon's scholarship and his just appreciation of Melanchthon's peculiar gifts and abilities. He realized that the shy, timid, retiring scholar was, to a certain extent, a necessary complement to himself and his robust, aggressive nature.

Melanchthon, in turn, held Luther, who had shown him the way of truth and life, in reverence as a spiritual father. He, at the beginning at least, realized that Luther was the head, he but a hand; that Luther was the leader, he but

a humble follower; that Luther was the teacher, he but a pupil. In this spirit he labored together with Luther, and through his labors furthered Luther's great work more than all other followers of Luther put together. Ever since the Leipzig Disputation of 1519, which might be called a turning-point of his life, he actively participated in the work of the Reformation. At Leipzig his faith in the authority of the existing Church was completely shaken, and his studies thenceforth took a more decidedly theological direction.

And the service he rendered the cause was great indeed. Being violently attacked by Eck for having ventured to express an opinion on the disputants, he replied in an open letter, in which he defended the positions of Carlstadt and Luther, particularly the opinions expressed by Luther for the first time in the course of the Leipzig Disputation; to wit, his opinions concerning the primacy of the Roman see, and the view that the Fathers of the Church had erred, and must not be employed in judging Scripture. This letter showed Melanchthon to be fully conversant with the questions at issue, and to be a master of keen, trenchant logic. And ever since then his pen never rested in the cause of the Reformation.

He wrote the first systematic presentation of Lutheran doctrine in his *Loci Communes:* he was the author of the Augsburg Confession and of the Apology thereof; he took part in all the great colloquies of the day, both with the Zwinglians and with the papists, and at Worms and Regensburg he conducted the disputations with the Romanists almost single-handed.

He has received most praise, however, for the way in which he carried out Luther's ideas on popular and higher education as laid down in his famous *Appeal to the Aldermen of All the German Cities in Behalf of Christian Schools.* He did this with such wisdom and good judgment that he has justly been called the Teacher of Germany (Praeceptor Germaniae). The development and intelligent application of Luther's principles gave to Protestant Germany the intel-

lectual and spiritual preeminence which has been hers for the last four hundred years, and to which has been added, within the last century, preeminence in every other field of human endeavor — political, economic, military, and moral.

The new thing in Melanchthon's scheme of higher education was the utilization of humanistic learning for the purposes of Lutheran thought and education. Classical learning was fused with Lutheranism, so to speak, and gave to the gymnasia and universities of Germany their distinctive character. And the courses of study prescribed by Melanchthon for the higher schools remained unaltered in the main until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the progress of learning and the changed conditions of modern life made changes in the curricula imperative.

It has become customary of late in certain quarters to exalt Melanchthon at the expense of Luther. Said a recent biographer of Melanchthon: "Without Melanchthon the nailing of the Ninety-five Theses had ended in a monkish squabble, to be followed, perhaps, by a new school of theology in the old Church." Such a view of the relative importance of the work and genius of the two men seems to us utterly at variance with a correct appreciation of the facts in the case, as well as with the judgment of Melanchthon himself as shown by his conduct. Melanchthon's was a highly gifted nature, endowed with a good memory, the power of clear, systematic presentation and great dialectic skill, to which was added great humanistic learning; but Melanchthon was not a mind possessed of sufficient robustness to work his way through the inherited traditional view of the Middle Ages, nor would his soul have been courageous enough to maintain the truth against the power of the Roman curia. Luther, however, was a man of a different mold. His was the colossal intellect that had won inward freedom from the system that held the mightiest intellects of the Middle Ages in hopeless thraldom, and his, also, was the undaunted courage that said at Worms: "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me! Amen." Nay, if need be, such a mind could well dispense with a mind like Melanchthon's.

There are two points in which Luther's inferiority to Melanchthon and his dependence upon him are especially stressed — philology and systematic presentation of doctrine. Let us look at these contentions somewhat more narrowly.

Luther possessed genuine philological ability of the highest order in the modern sense of the term. He was a genius, a master of the craft, as is shown by his sureness of critical judgment in declaring, "for linguistic and internal reasons, as spurious five treatises which had been handed down under the name of Augustine. Later investigation has completely confirmed his judgment. Equally apt and surprising are his famous remarks about the style, *provenance,* and historical value of the Biblical books. Though he, in this respect, followed, in the main, the verdict of the great scholars of the ancient Church, Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome, he added a mass of striking observations and acute suppositions of his own. What is most important, he at once, without lengthy parley, draws from the critical results the correct conclusions." (*Boehmer.*) With this compare Melanchthon's philological ability. He was a highly gifted man, trained to his business, with a mind stored with varied and extensive learning of marvelous accuracy, but not a master of the craft.

Again, much has been made of Melanchthon's systematizing. Says the biographer quoted above: "Melanchthon laid the foundation of the dogmatic system of Protestant theology, and wrote the first confession of the Protestant Church. Their [*i. e.,* Luther's and Melanchthon's] combined labors brought into existence the Evangelical Lutheran Church." The statement is perfectly correct. Only we should like to see more stress laid on Luther and less on Melanchthon. 'Tis true, says Boehmer, it was not Luther, but Melanchthon "who first undertook the obvious task of briefly summarizing the basic ideas of the Evangelical message. Considering that it is the first attempt of its kind, this survey is unquestionably a splendid achievement. Nevertheless the systematists find in it much, indeed very much, that is faulty. To Luther, however, it seemed wholly adequate; indeed, it was in his eyes an unsurpassable, classic,

canonic achievement, transcending all his own works in value and usefulness for the public. This is proof sufficient that his demands in this respect were not very exacting. . . . Undoubtedly this [Luther's] enormous facility in the production of ideas is most intimately related to his lack of system. The energetic endeavor to construct a closely knit organized whole naturally puts a decided check on the inclination to give room to new ideas and hence also on the ability to produce new ideas; in fact, it gradually kills this faculty, while, in the opposite case, the mind remains fresh for new concepts, and always can give itself up without restraint to the impulse of forming new ideas. We consequently do not claim too much when we assert that the Reformer's lack of system is a necessary outgrowth of his tremendous intellectual fertility, and to that extent also a necessary prerequisite of his world-historical activity. . . .

"The genuine systematists are mostly not creative thinkers, and *vice versa,* creative minds, as a rule, lack the capacity for organization. . . . They alone bring forth something new, release new forces, and found new institutions of historical life, while the systematists have only the more modest task of organizing and concentrating the new ideas."

Melanchthon, then, was merely a systematizer, a codifier, if you will, of the great Biblical truths which Luther's massive, undaunted intellect, thanks to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, had rediscovered and again given to the world. It was Luther who had broken through the whole medieval view of life, had seen the truth of God, had proclaimed it, and victoriously maintained it against the combined attack of pope, emperor, and devil. Melanchthon was merely the underling who, according to the measure of his ability kept the master's storehouse in order.

At this point there rises the question of Melanchthon's faithfulness in the work he was doing. This is a vexed question, and only a long, careful study of the original sources, of Melanchthon's works, and of reliable contemporary testimony can enable one to pronounce an opinion.

This much is established, that Melanchthon did not agree

with Luther on many points of doctrine; yet he formulated theses of Luther's doctrine for others to accept. He publicly subscribed to tenets he did not hold. This is true particularly of the doctrine of the Sacraments, on which his views were of such a nature that Calvin called him a dissembler for his failure publicly to state his dissent from Luther's views.

Again, even in the earliest edition of his *Loci,* as well as in the Augsburg Confession, he intentionally omitted a definite statement on Free Will, for the simple reason, as it seems, that he secretly shared Erasmus's views and not Luther's. He has won a great deal of praise for these omissions at the hands of such as would bear Luther's name without teaching his doctrine. He has been praised by syncretists generally, and especially by the synergists in the Lutheran Church, who believe that Luther's view of a will not free in spiritual matters relieves man of moral responsibility, and kills all initiative. But we, as Lutherans, cannot but deplore Melanchthon's lack of candor, as well as his inability to see Divine Truth, while as men of thought we rejoice to find that Luther's and not Erasmus's views on the will are in accord with results of modern psychological investigations of this deep subject.

That Luther never objected to Melanchthon's omission in the *Loci Communes* can be easily accounted for by the fact that Luther considered this doctrine too difficult for general discussion; that he looked upon it as one of the deep things in our faith — a doctrine not to be puzzled over or to be discussed lightly, but to be reverently stated in the simple terms of Scripture, and to be accepted in simple faith. The matter, however, assumes a different complexion in a later edition of the *Loci,* where Melanchthon wrote: "Cum promissio sit universalis, nec sint in Deo contrariae voluntates, necesse est in nobis esse aliquam discriminis causam, cur Saul abjiciatur, David recipiatur." (Since the promise is universal, and there are no conflicting wills in God, there must needs be some cause of discrimination in us.) "An argument," says Prof. A. L. Graebner (*Theol. Quart.* I, 229), "in which Melanchthon is at the same time a synergist

[position of the Ohio Synod] with his *in nobis* and a rationalist with his *necesse est.*" Here Melanchthon in so many words is teaching a doctrine at variance with the fundamentals of Luther's teaching — and of Bible-teaching.

If we bear in mind Melanchthon's timidity, his lack of personal courage, and his desire to preserve the peace with the Romanists, we can understand many things in his conduct, even the somewhat ignoble spirit that prompted him to minimize, in the Augsburg Confession, the differences with Rome, and to magnify those with the Zwinglians, with whom he indeed held many views in common that he did not share with Luther. Bearing his personal timidity in mind, we can perhaps accept the plea of his apologists, that he differed from Luther's doctrine only in matters he himself deemed non-essential, and that, in his concessions to Rome in the interimistic conflicts, he honestly believed that he had saved the essentials of Lutheran truth by yielding adiaphora. Still, in view of the fact that he chafed under the restraint imposed upon him by Luther's personality, and that he wrote to others that he felt like a slave in his relations to Luther, we cannot but deplore the fact that Melanchthon lacked the manliness and candor openly to face Luther and arrive at an understanding with him. If Melanchthon was not actually dishonest in his position both before and after Luther's death, he was, to say the least, extremely weak, and the universal mistrust with which Flacius, Amsdorf, and others looked upon him was caused by his lack of candor and consistency.

And, lastly, Melanchthon's letter to Camerarius, when he was first apprised of Luther's marriage, shows him in an extremely unfavorable light. We shall not give the letter in full, but merely refer to it. In this letter Melanchthon shows himself weak, suspicious, not above baseless, cruel slanders against the man whom he publicly professes to revere as a spiritual father. Likewise his letter to Carlowitz, in which he accuses Luther of "often giving way to his temperament, in which there is not a little of contentiousness," is not explained by the explanation he tried to give

later in his letter to Dietrich von Maltz (*Unschuldige Nachrichten,* 1707, p. 85), but remains an evidence of his lack of manliness and spiritual greatness. In real soul quality he seems to have been as small as his body.

The attempt of admirers and apologists of Melanchthon, therefore, to make him one of the great heroes of the Reformation must fail to awaken a responsive chord in our hearts. Nevertheless, while we deplore his lack of courage, candor, and straightforwardness, his weakness in dealing with the representatives of the popish system, and his deviation, in his systematic statement of doctrine, from revealed truth on the question of the doctrine of the human will and divine grace, let us not forget the great service he has rendered the cause of the Reformation. Let us cover his weaknesses with the cloak of charity, and let us gratefully acknowledge that, despite his shortcomings, he, too, was a chosen instrument in the hand of God to further the great work of the Lutheran Reformation.

A discussion of Luther's other intimate friends and coworkers is a great deal less difficult than a discussion of Melanchthon because there is in their characters nothing of the wavering, of the inconsistency, and of the lack of candor that is so annoying to the student of the life of Melanchthon. John Brenz, John Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, and Spalatin were Luther's *confidants* and advisers at all times and at all seasons. There was not at any time the least indication of a misunderstanding between Luther and any one of them. Open, frank, candid, straightforward, and of independent minds withal, their relations with Luther were always relations of mutual trust and confidence. Not one of them ever felt that his relation with Luther was becoming irksome, that he had to yield to Luther in the spirit of a slave, or that he had to make a sacrifice of his own convictions in order to please Luther. Though they were men of great theological learning, their talents were preeminently practical, and their greatest importance lies in the service they rendered as organizers, administrators, and men of affairs.

Brenz was first drawn to Luther at the disputation held

at the general chapter of the Augustinian order at Heidelberg, in the year 1518. Without entering upon the subject of his Ninety-five Theses, published in the previous year, Luther conducted this disputation in a manner that won for him the hearts of all present. Among these were John Brenz, Erhard Schnepf, and Martin Bucer, all of whom soon took prominent parts in the Protestant movement. Brenz soon came to Wittenberg, where he gained Luther's confidence, and became his lifelong friend. Because of his rare gifts, he was chosen, at the early age of twenty-three years, to introduce the Reformation in the imperial free city of Schwaebischhall, where he remained to the end of his useful life. He remained in perfect accord with Luther throughout, organizing, abolishing abuses, introducing Biblical doctrine and practise with rare tact and judgment, without sacrificing one jot or tittle of divine truth, yet without giving offense to the simplest folk.

Nor did he lack theological learning and dialectic skill. In 1529, he wrote a catechism which alone of the many catechisms written at that time has been able to hold its own by the side of Luther's catechism. When Zwingli and Oecolampadius tried to introduce their doctrines in Swabia, Brenz effectually foiled their attempts, principally by means of the famous *Syngramma,* which was signed by fourteen Swabian pastors, but was written by Brenz. Whenever an important colloquy was held, either with the Romanists or with the Zwinglians, Brenz was invariably consulted, and was usually asked to be present.

John Bugenhagen, surnamed Pomeranus, was even more closely associated with Luther than was Brenz, for he remained at Wittenberg to the end of his life.

He came to Wittenberg shortly after the Diet of Worms, well trained in theology and humanistic learning, and at once began to teach at the university. He became a close personal friend of Luther's, and remained united with him in the closest friendship until Luther's death. As early as 1522, Luther secured for him the appointment as pastor of the town church, much against the wishes of the chapter,

most of whose members were still attached to the old order of things. As pastor of the town church he advanced the cause of the new doctrine in every conceivable manner. In 1524, he abolished private masses, and voted that they should be abolished in the richly endowed Church of All Saints, of which Justus Jonas was provost. Though he received flattering calls to Hamburg and to Danzig, he remained at Wittenberg, where, he saw, he could render greater service to the holy cause.

He took part in all the controversies of the day, and proved an invaluable adviser to Luther at all important conferences and colloquies, and his name appears as one of the signatories of almost all the various articles of agreement that were drawn up between Luther and the various Protestant leaders whose teachings had differed from those of Luther.

The most signal service, however, that he rendered to the Lutheran movement was his work as organizer and administrator of church-affairs in cities and countries that were anxious to introduce the Reformation. In 1528, he introduced the Reformation in the duchy of Braunschweig. From Braunschweig he went to Hamburg on a similar mission, returning in 1529. In 1531, he rendered the same service to the great commercial center and free imperial city of Luebeck. And in 1537, after the death of King Frederick, he introduced the Reformation in Denmark, where he remained for two years, organizing the ecclesiastical establishment and the educational system of the kingdom. He also crowned the new king, Christian III.

Personally, he seems to have been more to Luther than any other man of his day. The open, unreserved exchange of opinions with Bugenhagen was a great boon to Luther, and did a great deal to keep up Luther's spirits and health. Luther performed the marriage ceremony at Bugenhagen's wedding, and Bugenhagen, in turn, officiated at Luther's wedding. When the plague was raging at Wittenberg, Luther and Bugenhagen remained in the stricken city, and braved the terrible foe; and when, on a later occasion, Luther was

about to leave Wittenberg in disgust, it was Bugenhagen who prevailed upon him to remain.

The third in this circle of friends was Justus Jonas, the Erfurt Humanist, who, having become an ardent admirer of Luther despite Erasmus's warnings, had, in 1519, exchanged the study of law for that of theology. When Luther, on his journey to Worms, passed through Erfurt, he was met at Weimar by Justus Jonas and conducted in triumphal entry into the city of Erfurt, and when he entered the city of Worms, his carriage was followed by Jonas on horseback.

Before long, Jonas was appointed provost of the Church of All Saints at Wittenberg and professor of Canonical Law in the University. The professorship of Law, however, he soon exchanged for a professorship of theology, after he had taken his doctor's degree in theology. From 1523 to 1533, he was dean of the university.

Like Brenz and Bugenhagen, and quite unlike Melanchthon, he was a warm-hearted, courageous man, a true friend, and, as such, a genuine help and assistance to the great Reformer.

He gave evidence of his courage when, in 1522, he insisted that the sacred relics which John Frederick had collected at enormous expense, and stored in the Church of All Saints, should no longer be exhibited, and again, in the same year, when he expressed himself as in favor of introducing the communion in both kinds.

Moreover, he was a man of great learning and ability. He translated Luther's famous diatribe against Erasmus, *De Servo Arbitrio,* into German, and, on other occasions, translated some of Luther's German works into Latin. He was present at many of the colloquies with the Zwinglians and the Romanists, and, at Augsburg, exerted a salutary restraining influence upon Melanchthon, who, having lost all self-possession, was about to yield still more than he had already yielded in the Augsburg Confession.

Luther always entertained a particular affection for him, and took him with him on his journey to Eisleben in 1546. And when Luther was dying, Justus Jonas asked him, "Rev-

erende pater, will you remain steadfast in Christ and the doctrine which you have preached?" Whereupon Luther replied with a loud "Aye."

Georg Burkhardt, or Spalatinus, as he is generally called, having taken this name from Spalt in Franconia, his native town, occupies a position somewhat apart in this famous group.

He had studied at Erfurt, had become a priest in 1507, and, in 1514, had been appointed court chaplain and privy councilor to the Elector Frederick the Wise. In this official capacity he had abundant opportunity to aid Luther's cause, and he availed himself of every opportunity that offered. We may safely say that, more than anything else, it was Spalatin's influence, exerted at the proper moments, that guided the elector's conduct with reference to Luther and his cause. He it was that fought Luther's battles at the electoral court, and prompted the elector to protect Luther against his enemies, and to brave the terrors of papal excommunication and imperial ban. It is more than doubtful whether Frederick would have espoused the cause of the Reformation as emphatically as he did, had it not been for Spalatin's influence. Many an evil advice was counteracted, many a sinister design frustrated thanks to the fact that he had the elector's ear.

Moreover, he was the intermediary, the channel of communication, so to speak, between Luther and the elector. He, therefore, carried on an active correspondence with Luther. This correspondence, most of which has been preserved, affords an insight into the inner development of the course of the events of that great period. Luther was wont to present all his requests and petitions to the elector through Spalatin, and to discuss with him all his undertakings. He would submit to him every new polemical tract, and take counsel with him whenever a new attack was made by the enemy.

Spalatin, it may be stated here, played a part in the Reformation that is usually underestimated. 'Tis true, he was not in the forefront of the battle; he was not a great

leader, not a great scholar, not a great systematizer, not a great organizer and administrator. Yet much depended upon him, for the elector was guided by Spalatin's judgment in all things connected with Luther and the university. Truly, it is not saying too much to maintain that Spalatin was the Lord's chosen instrument for the protection and preservation of the life of the Father of the Reformation.

Luther as a Preacher.

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"Preach the Gospel!" This command of Christ unto His Church sufficiently emphasizes the fact that it has "pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."

Preaching had a prominent place in the life of Luther and in the work of the Reformation.

Several centuries prior to the Reformation preaching as a recognized institution was non-existent. At length preaching orders arose, but their preaching was not of the kind which could save sinners. Some read sermons that came ready-made to hand; some preached sermons of a scholastic type; some related stories about saints and told legends; some even amused their hearers with ridiculous anecdotes. Some of the sermons, perhaps of the better type, were in Latin and unintelligible to the great mass of hearers. Small wonder that the churches were deserted, and that such men as Savonarola, Wyclif, and Waldus, supplying a real need, attracted large numbers of hearers.

The result of preaching depends upon the message which it has. Luther's preaching had one overmastering thought, and that thought was Christ. There are three things which made Luther a great preacher, perhaps the greatest since the days of the apostles: First, Luther preached the *Bible;* secondly, he preached it in *simple and clear language;* thirdly, he addressed it to the *wants of men,* took aim at the heart, shot forth spiritual arrows which did not miss

their mark. These things characterize the great preachers of all times.

Luther preached much. Sometimes he preached four sermons on a Sunday and two or three during the week. He was much in demand as a preacher. The people heard him gladly. He was, in the good sense of the word, a popular preacher, a preacher of the people.

Luther had rare gifts, which served him in good stead as a preacher: a thorough knowledge of the Bible, a good acquaintance with the writings of the church-fathers and the classics, a mind well informed as to the facts of history, and filled with stores of knowledge on many subjects, a keen perception of human nature, an abundance of personal experiences, a perfect understanding of the conditions of his time, a happy faculty to address himself to all classes of men, a masterly use of the German language, and, combined with all this, a heroic faith, an undaunted courage, a good judgment, an untiring energy, a fervent zeal, an enduring patience, an alert mind, a keen insight, a remarkable memory, and a sympathetic charity.

Luther's own ideas as to preaching must be gleaned from his many writings. "The great subject of preaching," says Luther, "is the glory of God in Jesus Christ. We preach always Him, the true God and man, who died for our sins and rose again for our justification. This may seem a limited and monotonous subject, likely to be soon exhausted, but we are never at the end of it." "There is no more terrible affliction, misery, and misfortune upon earth than a preacher who does not preach the Word of God, of whom there are, I am sorry to say, many in this world." "Preachers should be angels, God's messengers, whose conversation is in heaven, who always diligently study the Word of God, in order that they do not preach the doctrine of man." "If any one has a Bible-text given, and he be not able to make a sermon, he ought not to be a preacher." "Not that is a Christian sermon which preaches the historical Christ. . . . You should teach and testify that the Gospel of Christ is given unto us who believe for righteousness and salvation."

"First the Law should be preached, then the promises of Christ." "One cannot speak of that which he does not well know and understand." "He is a foolish preacher who thinks that he must say all that comes to his mind. A preacher should stick to the main point of his text." "Preaching to the people, we should let white be white and black be black, and speak to them in simple, clear language, so that they can understand us. What pains did Christ, our Lord, take to teach in simple language!" "To preach clearly and simply is a great art." "It is a common mistake made by preachers to preach so that the common people derive little benefit." "A preacher must speak with boldness" (kein Blatt vors Maul nehmen). He should address the wants of the people, "giving, as a wise steward, unto each his portion of meat in due season." "It is foolishness to use many words and say nothing." "It speaks well for a preacher to hear the people say when he has finished his sermon that they fain would have heard him preach longer." Luther was theoretically not a friend of long sermons, but he often transgressed his own rule. He could, it appears, hold the attention of the people, and was, no doubt, guided by that fact. A preacher, says Luther, must be able to teach the truth, should speak slowly, have a good head and a good voice, be diligent, put his very life into his work, and expect that all men will criticise him.

A large number of Luther's sermons have been handed down to us. Luther was not in the habit of writing his sermons. The large amount of work he had probably prevented him from doing so. He would meditate upon the main thoughts of his sermon and then preach. Luther's sermons were, more or less carefully, revised for the press by friends.

As a rule, Luther based his sermons on a certain text of Scripture. Most of his sermons are on the Gospel- and Epistle-lessons of the well-known pericopic system. He seldom used free texts, but in week-day services he would preach on whole books of the Bible. He did not intend his

example in this respect to be followed by all. Prevailing conditions, he thought, required it.

Luther paid very little attention to the outward form of the sermon. The divine message which he had to deliver was the one absorbing thought that received his consideration. He preached because he had something to tell. He did not, as a rule, begin his sermons with long introductions. Frequently he would state his subject at once. A sermon on the epistle of the Fourth Sunday in Advent he begins by simply saying: "This is a brief epistle, but it contains a very important and profound doctrine of the Christian faith. The apostle speaks, first of all, of our conduct toward God; and, secondly, toward our neighbor." Then he proceeds at once with the sermon proper. His themes expressed clearly and concisely the main thought of the text, but they were not of a stereotyped form. The sermon was strictly textual. Very often Luther would expound verse after verse. He was an expository preacher. His leading thoughts were always faith and charity, justification and sanctification, giving to each its proper place and its due importance. He did not preach sanctification at the expense of justification, a sin of which many sectarian preachers are guilty; but he did not fail duly to emphasize the necessity of the Christian life. His sermons were immensely practical, as all preaching, in order to serve its purpose, should be. They were heart-to-heart talks. Luther's language is beautiful. It is clear, simple, and, therefore, forceful. He explained words and phrases. He often quoted proverbial sayings, the very nature of which is to express a truth clearly in a few words. He spoke in parables taken from every-day life. He told the truth plainly. He preached the Law with all severity, sparing no one. He preached the Gospel with utmost suavity, and comforted and encouraged the terror-stricken sinner. When he denounced false doctrine and all manner of sin, his language to us at times appears to have been rude, but it was altogether in keeping with his time. When Luther had expounded his text, he stopped speaking.

Luther did not think highly of himself as a preacher.

He said, "I have often been disgusted with myself (habe mich oft angespien) when I came from the pulpit." He complains that he sometimes did not follow his notes, but says that just at such a time the people would highly praise his sermon. He was ever mindful of the great responsibility resting upon the man in the pulpit. "Believe me," he said, "a sermon is not the work of man. Be not too bold, but be a preacher who fears God. I am an old and experienced preacher, nevertheless to the present day I feel uneasy when I must preach."

It is well that Luther had a humble opinion of himself as a preacher, for we think the more highly of him. Beware of the preacher who sings his own praises!

Luther's method of sermonizing has been called the "heroic method." More properly it might be called Luther's method. Luther's sermons, as all his writings, bear the stamp of originality. His very originality contributed much to his popularity.

Luther cannot be imitated. Neither should he be. Let every preacher be himself. There is very much, though, which we can learn from Luther. Those very things which made Luther great as a preacher are the things which make any preacher great. Every preacher should seek to be great; not, indeed, for the sake of greatness, — that would be sinful vanity, and would itself stand in the way of real greatness, — but for the sake of the cause of Christ, which the preacher espouses; and that he should consider a sacred duty.

The privileges, responsibilities, and opportunities which the Lord has given unto His Church demand that the very best men be in the Christian pulpit. As it is, the land is filled with an abundance of poor preachers. The great need of the hour is that there be more preachers who, like to Luther, seek solely the salvation of sinners, and thus the glory of God, and who to this end, trusting in the many gracious promises of God, will preach *the Gospel of Jesus Christ* to the multitudes within the Church and to the still greater multitudes without the Church; in short, preachers

are needed that are fully devoted to their God and to that work which God has called them to do in His name.

Luther says that David in the 119th Psalm gives unto him who would be a theologian a threefold rule, which he chooses to express with three words: *Oratio, meditatio, tentatio* (prayer, study, and personal experience). The preacher who neglects diligently to ask God to bless his work, who does not diligently study his Bible, and all that will be helpful to him in his calling, and who has but little experienced the power of the Word in his own heart and life, will not make a successful preacher nor pastor. He had better take up some other work.

What is lacking in much of the preaching of our day are the very things which made Luther's preaching both interesting and profitable. As to these very things Luther's sermons should be carefully studied. The result of such study will be found in the greater success with which preaching will be blessed to the glory of God. Foremost, of course, must stand Luther's *scripturalness* of preaching, but second to it his *directness*. Luther's method of preaching ought to be revived. Many sermons are artificial and mechanical. The preacher, when meditating upon and writing his sermons, should not have his homiletical rules (good and needful as these may be in themselves) uppermost in his mind, but the needs of the people. Sermons should not be preached because the time for preaching has come, but because the preacher has a divine message to deliver. The preacher should not seek to *please* people with his sermons, but to *benefit* them. He should not aim at "fine writing" when making his sermons, but at preaching the Gospel in the very simplest language. There is not only a Gospel-famine in the land, but also much Gospel-preaching "over the heads of the people." "When I preach," said Luther, "I regard neither the doctors nor magistrates, . . . but I have an eye to the multitude of young people, children, and servants."

While it is sadly true that the multitudes prefer to go to the playhouses and not to the churches, it is also sadly true that much of the poor church attendance of our day is

due to poor preaching. "Audiences are held by useful and clear sermons," says the Apology of the Augsburg Confession. If the preacher will not put much into his sermon, he need not be surprised that the people will not come to get anything out of it.

The work of the Reformation will best be commemorated if all preachers, to begin with, will better learn from Luther not only *what* to preach, but also *how* to preach; for Luther preached the doctrine of Christ, and he preached it after the manner of Christ.

Luther's Influence on Popular Education.

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A brief survey of the history of education of all nations will force us to yield assent to the statement so commonly made that Luther is the father of popular education.

The education of the Jews provided for Jewish children only. The Oriental education was based on the promulgation of the caste system, or fostered class distinction by affording superior advantages to the children of the privileged few, and neglecting the enlightenment of the lower classes, regarding them as incapable of considerable intellectual development. The Grecian and Roman education was founded on the despotism of the State, and was based on the theory that education consisted foremost in training citizens, who were under allegiance to the State, who could have no other interest than that interwoven with the interest of the State.

Christianity marked a new era in education, giving an entirely new foundation, and setting a new goal for it. The aim of Christian education is the welfare of all men, of each and every individual of whatever race or color, sweeping away all castes, and abolishing Oriental class distinction, thereby not only seeking the earthly welfare and bodily comfort of humanity, but also the spiritual welfare of the individual and the preparation of his soul for eternal bliss.

Thus a firm basis for popular education was provided for by Christ Himself. Many centuries, however, elapsed before this impulse accomplished its culmination.

Education before the Reformation Period.

The period covering the time between the sixth century and the Reformation has very appropriately been called the Dark Ages. Historians, however, do not intend to condemn everything in these ages pertaining to education. Seeley says: "These fifteen centuries embrace those generally known in history as the Dark Ages, during which progress was indeed slow. But when we remember the obstacles which were to be met, . . . we marvel at the great results attained." Roman Catholic writers, however, have often attempted to reconstruct the history of these centuries to such an extent as to gloss over the guilt of the Catholic Church by diminishing the corruption of the papal hierarchy, by magnifying the obstacles which were to be met, and by aggrandizing the little achievements of the Church or its orders.

However, frankly admitting that one cannot condemn everything in those centuries, every unprejudiced student of history will, nevertheless, most readily be convinced that the causes of the darkness and of the ignorance in the educational field of the Dark Ages were the decline of the Church and its departure from the fundamental principles of education laid down by our Savior Jesus Christ. If the Church had abided by the teachings of the Bible, the whole Bible, it would never have permitted papacy to rise, and the aim of its educational system would not have been to give the hierarchy power to wield its scepter for the stultification of the masses such as had developed at the dawn of the sixteenth century.

Recapitulating the history of the Middle Ages, Campayre writes: "The Middle Ages, in itself, whatever effort may be put forth at this day to rehabilitate it, and to discover in it the golden age of modern societies, remains an ill-starred epoch. A few virtues, negative for the most part, virtues of obedience and consecration, cannot atone for the real faults of those rude and barbarous centuries. . . . Popular edu-

cation was almost null and restricted to the teaching of the catechism in Latin. Finally, a church absolute and sovereign, which determined for all, great and small, the limits of thought, of belief, and of action, such was, from our own point of view, the condition of the Middle Ages."

The neglect of the common people was a notable and lamentable defect in the educational system of the Middle Ages as no great effort was made to elevate and enlighten them by education. The Roman Catholic Church and its hierarchy, who were in control of educational affairs in those centuries, have always been antagonistic to the education of the masses, considering intelligent lay-members a source of danger for the supremacy of the pope. Painter, in reviewing the institutions operated for educational purposes in those centuries, says: "The ecclesiastical schools were designed chiefly for candidates for the priesthood; the parochial schools fitted the young for church-membership; the burgher schools were intended for the commercial and artisan classes of the cities; knightly education gave training to chivalry. Thus the laboring classes were left to toil on in ignorance and want; they remained in a dependent and servile condition, their lives unillumined by intellectual pleasures. If here and there, as claimed by Roman Catholic writers, popular schools were established, they were too few in number and too weak in influence to deserve more than a passing mention."

It cannot be denied, however, that schools existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but in general their condition was very dismal, and the knowledge they imparted was insignificant. The monks of Franciscan and Dominican orders, who, as a rule, were the professors at the universities, were not seeking the welfare of the people, but endeavored to establish their sovereignty and to accumulate riches in order to live a life of luxury. The priests in the cities were too indolent to teach the children, but would hire drill-masters, men, as a rule, who were incapable of gaining their livelihood in any other way, men without knowledge or educational training, and therefore, incompe-

tent to conduct a well-regulated school. They would make the children commit to memory the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and several hymns by constant repetition and rehearsing. The education of the youth in the country was wholly neglected; the children were entirely ignorant of even the most necessary points of the Christian doctrines. The only thing they were conversant with were the ceremonies prescribed for public worship. Such is the result when the Church neglects popular Christian education.

Luther's Impression of the State of Affairs in the Schools of His Time.

These were the conditions found by Luther in 1528 during his visitation of the churches and schools of Saxony, and they caused him to cry out in the preface to the Small Catechism which he was constrained to write: "Alas, what manifold misery I beheld! The common people, especially in the villages, know nothing at all of Christian doctrine; and many pastors are quite unfit and incompetent to teach. Yet all are called Christians, have been baptized, and enjoy the use of the Sacraments although they know neither the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, nor the Ten Commandments, and live like the poor brutes and irrational swine. O ye bishops! How will ye ever render account to Christ for having so shamefully neglected the people!"

When Luther perceived this state of affairs, it was clear to him that a godless home and a worthless class of educators were the cause of the downfall of Church and State, and that a solid foundation for both could be laid only by an efficient popular Christian education of the children in home and school.

Luther Urges Home-Training.

With resistless energy Luther therefore impressed upon parents their obligation to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. He insisted upon home-training. His writings show that he had a clear conception of the duties of parents towards their children. He

admonishes them to honor holy wedlock as a divine institution and to look upon their children as precious gifts of God, as lovely fruits of marriage, strengthening the bond of love. He tells them that God has entrusted the children He has given them to their parental care, and urges them on, by adducing all possible reasons, to do their duty for the benefit of the individual, for the Church, and for the commonwealth. He also reminds them of the dreadful Judgment Day, when a strict account of their work would be demanded, and their wilful negligence would be punished. "Children," he writes, "are the most lovely fruits and powerful bonds of marriage, and confirm and preserve the bond of love." "Married people should remember that they can perform no better and no more useful work for the glory of God, for the benefit of both Church, and State, aye, for themselves and their children, than by properly bringing up their children." "It is to be sadly deplored that we all live as though God had given us children merely for our pleasure or amusement, and servants that we should employ them like a cow or an ass, for work only, or as though all we were to do with those who are subject to our authority were to satisfy our wantonness, and that it need not concern us what they learn or how they live; and no one is willing to see that this is the command of the Supreme Majesty, who will most strictly call us to account and punish us for it."

He also shows what great evil results if parents neglect to train their children: "Think what deadly injury you are doing if you are negligent in this matter, if you fail to bring up your child to a life of usefulness and piety, and how you thus bring down upon yourself God's wrath and eternal damnation, even though you be otherwise ever so pious and holy. And because this is disregarded, God so fearfully punishes the world that there is no discipline, government, or peace, of which we all complain, while we do not see that it is our fault; for we have spoiled and disobedient children and subjects because we do not train them as we should."

But considering how unfit most of the parents were to teach their children even the elements of Christian doctrine, as well as of secular knowledge, and thinking of their homes with their surroundings, realizing, too, that they were not even aware of their responsibility in this matter, or that slothful parents would wilfully neglect their children and let them grow up without proper instruction, or spoil them by undue indulgence, Luther felt that it was necessary to establish common schools, which the magistrates should provide, and urged the reorganization and reformation of those already existing. In so doing, he not only pointed out the glaring defects of the schools of his time, deploring their inefficiency, but also clearly showed a way of laying a solid foundation of an effective educational system, which should begin with the common school for boys and girls of all classes of the population, and culminate in a systematizing of the plan and methods of the college and university. His system of education comprised: 1. The primary schools; 2. the secondary schools; 3. the universities. For all he introduced graded instruction, and improved the course of study, as well as the methods, which are to this day standards for educational science.

Luther Demands School-Training.

Upon parents and ministers, as well as upon the officials of the State, he vigorously impressed their obligation to provide for the education of the young, and to avail themselves of the opportunity to send them to school. In his two most prominent pedagogical writings, his "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of All Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools" and his "Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School," and also in his "Tischreden," he not only maps out the plan of studies and application of the most important methods of teaching, but demands an education in schools, a thorough school-training, not only of the children of the rich, or the upper classes, but of every child.

To the objection of those who insisted upon teaching and training their children at home only or at inadequate schools

he answered: "But each one, you say, may educate and train his own sons and daughters. To which I reply: We see indeed the sad results of such teaching and training. Even when carried to the highest point, and if attended with success, it exhibits nothing more than that the pupils, in some measure, acquire a *forced external propriety of manners;* in other respects they remain dunces, knowing nothing, and not able to give advice or aid. But were they instructed in schools or elsewhere by thoroughly trained male and female teachers, who are competent to teach the languages, other arts, and history, then the pupils would become conversant with the world's history, and acquire a knowledge of the world, and see how each city, kingdom, prince, man and woman fared, and thus be able to comprehend, as in a mirror, the character, life, counsels, undertakings, successes, and failures of mankind from the beginning of days. Equipped with this knowledge, they could regulate their views and order their course of life in the fear of God. . . . But the training that is given at home is expected to make us wise through our own experience. Before that can take place, we shall die a hundred times." And such education as he demanded for the youth should not be given to boys only, but also to girls. "Would to God," Luther exclaims, "that each town had also a girls' school, in which girls might be taught the Gospel!"

It is evident that Luther intended to establish the school as the principal agency for the diffusion of knowledge, and therefore he directed the eyes of the mayors and the nobility, as well as the attention of all parents, to this public institution.

Luther wanted the school not only to teach the Word of God and to mold the individual character, but it should also shape the social conditions. Conformably to this, he presented two reasons therefor, whenever he urged the establishment and maintenance of schools. One of these was, that the welfare of the State and the social conditions for the future should be shaped through the medium of instruction, and the other was the perpetuation and advancement of the

Church. Unlike the Roman Catholic clergy, Luther did not seek his own interest, nor solely the interest of the Church, but regarding secular government as a divine institution and the Church as the bride-elect of Christ, he sought the welfare of each in its own station. Referring to this, he says: "Thus, also, in a secular office you can serve your sovereign or country better by training children than by building castles and cities. . . . For what good can these do without learned, wise, and pious people? . . . When schools [Christian schools such as they should be] prosper, the Church remains righteous and her doctrine pure. . . . Young pupils and students are the seed and source of the Church. When we are dead and gone, whence would come our successors, if not from the school? For the sake of the Church we must have and maintain schools."

Luther Demands Religious Schools.

Luther knew, however, that if the school-training was to achieve the desired results, and be an important factor in advancing civil righteousness and perpetuating the Church, a thorough religious training was an absolute necessity. He was aware of the fact that, even if the boundaries of science would be extended in every direction, and if knowledge would be universally diffused throughout the world, the advancement of public and private morality would not be achieved unless a thorough religious instruction were made the foundation of all secular branches. He was convinced that science without a religious basis would only increase vice and crime, and that dishonesty and corruption would prevail.

Luther, therefore, desired the establishment of schools in which all training was based upon the Word of God. He knew that, by urging this, he was seeking the welfare of the State as well as of the Church. Religion, true religion, founded upon the Scripture alone, is not only of supreme benefit to every individual, it is also the means of welding together society (a community), a safeguard of morals, and the most powerful incentive to perform one's duty. It is the foundation of Church and State. It was an established

fact with Luther that learning and eloquence, arts and sciences, were of little value without religious training.

This he expressed on various occasions: "See to it in the first place," he says, "that your children are instructed in spiritual things. Give them first to God, and then let them learn their secular duties." "Children should be instructed in everything pertaining to God. They should be taught to know the Lord Jesus Christ, and constantly to bear in mind how He has suffered for us, what He has done, and what He has promised to do." "Above all, in schools of whatever description, the chief and *most common lesson should be the Scripture. . . . Where the Holy Scriptures do not rule, I advise no one to send his child. Everything must perish where God's Word is not studied unceasingly.*" "The soul can do without everything except the Word of God. Without this it suffers want; but when it has God's Word, it needs nothing more."

To make religious training possible and effective, Luther translated the Bible, and to furnish a course of religious instruction for children, he wrote the Small Catechism, in the preface to which he laid down pedagogical principles. For this reason he advocated a thorough training for the office of teaching. "Whosoever is to teach others, especially from Holy Scriptures, and wishes rightly to understand this book, must first have observed, and learned to know, the world. . . . You should not only consider the words in your heart, but examine them diligently as you find them in the text, in order that you may understand what the Holy Ghost means to teach in the Holy Book." As pastors should be the overseers of the school, he pointed out the necessity of having a knowledge of pedagogy and of having gained some experience in teaching. "I would have no one chosen for a preacher," he says, "who has not previously been a schoolteacher."

The Duty of Sending Children to School.

In his pedagogical letters Luther brought argument upon argument to induce parents to send their children to the established schools. He reminded them of the wretchedness

of their former condition, when they groped in darkness, while now the grace of God illumined their paths, which they should not receive in vain and thus neglect "the accepted time." He pointed out to them the command of the Lord urging and enjoining parents to instruct their children. He said to them: "It is indeed a sin and shame that we must be aroused and incited to the duty of educating our children and considering their highest interests, whereas nature itself should move us thereto, and the example of the heathen affords us varied instruction. . . . And what would it avail if we possessed and performed all else, and became perfect saints, if we neglect that for which we chiefly live, namely, to care for the young? In my judgment there is no other offense that in the sight of God so heavily burdens the world, and deserves such heavy chastisement, as the neglect to educate children." (Painter, *Lutheran Education.*)

Luther vividly conceived the disapproval of some impious and slothful parents, who cared little for the welfare of their children nor for that of the State, and he foresaw their opposition to school-training. Of these he said that, for the welfare of the community, they ought to be compelled to educate their children. As the separation of Church and State had not been effected, he, under the prevailing circumstances, sent a letter to the mayors of cities, telling them "that the welfare of the city did not consist alone in great treasures, firm walls, and abundant munitions of war, but the greatest power of a nation consisted in able citizens, whose intellectual power could secure, preserve, and utilize every treasure and advantage. Therefore they should establish schools, and compel the citizens to maintain them, as they would force them to render contributions and services toward bridges." Furthermore, they should compel them to educate their children: "I maintain that the civil authorities are under obligation to compel the people to send their children to school."

Luther also thought of the poor, who, lacking the means to pay tuition fees, could not give a promising boy a thorough education. In order to open the way to a thorough education

for such poor, but promising boys, he urged the people to liberally contribute towards the maintenance of schools, and the rich to make substantial bequests for that purpose. He wrote: "Therefore let him who can watch; and wherever the government sees a promising boy, let him be sent to school. If the father is poor, let the child be aided with the property of the Church. The rich should make bequests to such objects, as some have done, who have founded scholarships."

Luther Esteems the Office of Teaching.

To impress upon everybody how much he valued popular education in common schools, Luther set forth the great importance of the office of teaching, and showed how highly he esteemed a pious schoolteacher. In his *Tischreden* he wrote: "A schoolmaster is as important to a city as is a pastor. We can do without mayors, princes, and noblemen, but not without schools; for these must rule the world. . . . Therefore schools are indispensable. And if I were not a preacher, there is no other calling on earth that I would rather have. But we must consider, not how the world esteems and rewards this office, but how God looks upon it." "To be brief, a diligent and pious schoolmaster, who faithfully trains and educates boys, can never be sufficiently recompensed, and no money will pay him, as even the heathen Aristotle says. Yet the calling is shamefully despised among us, as if it were nothing, and at the same time we pretend to be Christians! If I had to resign preaching and my other duties, there is no office I would rather have than that of a schoolteacher. For I know that next to the ministry it is the most useful, greatest, and best; and I am not sure which of the two is to be preferred." "Therefore let it be considered one of the highest virtues on earth faithfully to train the children of others, which duty but very few parents attend to themselves."

Luther's ideas of popular education went forth like a flash of lightning into the darkness of education, the sorry bequest of the Middle Ages, and kindled a fire in the minds of the thinking populace of Germany that spread over

the entire world. His words were like thunderbolts arousing every one who heard them and pondered over them. In all parts of the country schools were established and maintained, and in order to systematize the course of teaching in the various schools Luther was called upon to draw up school-schedules and to explain the methods of teaching, which he cheerfully did.

The pedagogical principles and methods laid down by Luther form the fundamental principles of education up to this day. Ditte says in his *Geschichte der Erziehung, etc.*, regarding Luther's plans and methods: "If we survey the pedagogy of Luther in every particular, and imagine it put into practise in all its details, what a splendid picture the schools and education of the sixteenth century would present! *We should have courses of study, text-books, teachers, methods, principles, and modes of discipline, schools and school regulations, that could serve as models for our own age.*"

Recapitulating the pedagogical principles of Luther in his two most important writings on this subject and the influence of Luther on popular education, the following particulars are evident: From the Word of God, which teaches that God wants all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, Luther drew the conclusion that every man, woman, and child, irrespective of class or color, was entitled to a Christian education. Parents should therefore regard their children as precious gifts of God, and preserve them, teach them, train them for this life, and provide for their eternal welfare.

Under the prevailing conditions of non-separation of Church and State Luther urged the officials of both Church and State to provide for the education of the masses, and, to this end, establish and maintain Christian schools, as being necessary for the welfare of the State and for the perpetuation and propagation of the Church of Christ. Most emphatically he pointed out that religious training must be the foundation of all education and instruction, and that religion was the source of all Christian virtues and civic

righteousness. He therefore reorganized the existing common schools, the colleges and universities, introduced a graded school system, and improved the plans and methods of instruction to such an extent that they form the foundation of the principles of education up to modern times. He also touched upon the principles of a vocational school system, holding that every child should become conversant with the practical duties of life; the boys should learn a trade and the girls housework. He praised the office of teaching, saying that every teacher is worthy of high respect. He urged the necessity of a thorough training of every teacher, and since by virtue of his office every pastor is the overseer of the school, he, too, must be given the necessary training in pedagogics, and get some experience in teaching.

Giving other educators all the credit due them, an unbiased observer and student of the history of education is, nevertheless, impressed with the indisputable fact that Luther is the father of popular education, its principles and its methods, and that his influence has shaped the system of education throughout the civilized world up to this day.

Do we really realize what an inheritance we have received from Luther and the Lutheran Reformation?

The Economic Teachings and Influence of Luther.

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Gustave Schmollez, one of the greatest German economists, claims that without the work of Luther the steam engine and the resultant change in the economic life of the world would have been impossible. It is difficult to bring conclusive evidence for this contention. Development in history is not simple, but complex. As many brooks make the river, so many different impulses, sometimes widely apart in kind, place, and time, finally converge in a great change. The relation between person and environment in economical life is also the cause of grave dispute. Political

and intellectual changes can frequently be traced back to their author. The economic life and activities of peoples seem to grow, often carrying man along on their crest rather than submitting to human direction. That is seen strikingly in the progress of inventions. Watt did not invent the steam engine to change industry. For a century English mining industry had set the task of finding some mechanical means to pump the water out of the lower levels. As the climax of much experimenting came Watt's reciprocating engine, crude at first, perfected as the exigencies of industry demanded it. But though it is difficult, in fact, impossible, to trace out in detail the change in economic thought and development of the economic situation flowing out of the Reformation, the broad, incisive influence of the Reformation on this side of life can, indeed, amply be proved.

To some people Luther, the prophet of religious reform, has become also the final arbiter and authority in the round of secular interests that go to make the sum total of modern life. He is quoted on questions of government, of secular education, of social reform, very much in the manner in which in the Middle Ages the Bible and Aristotle were called upon to decide the contour of the globe or the history of the Franks. It is only natural that his dominating genius should win this unlooked-for recognition. However, it is unjust to him. History does not stand still. Generation learns from generation, and each one is feverishly bent to push on further than the preceding. Any schoolboy to-day knows more of economics than Adam Smith and more of politics than Grotius or Burlemaqui. But the schoolboy's knowledge does not lessen the genius of those men who first clearly conceived the principles that to-day have become common property. The greatest man is limited by the restrictions of his time, and by them must he be measured.

So Luther's thoughts on economics frequently seem crude to us to-day, who have enjoyed the experience of four hundred years of unparalleled commercial expansion and industrial development. They are not systematized into

a unity, but lie scattered throughout his writings. It is well to group them to gain a clear survey.

The first great question in economics is the question of production and consumption. Luther's scheme of production is agricultural. On the work of the husbandman rests peculiar blessing. His is the oldest activity of man and still the best. It is not difficult to understand this interest of Luther. His parents were originally peasants. He himself had grown up on the soil. Then agriculture was in Luther's day without question the most important pursuit. Cities were small and few. Perhaps, ninety per cent. of all people dwelled on the land, and even the inhabitants of the cities engaged, in a measure, in agricultural pursuits, as many city charters humorously show forbidding above a certain age pigs to be turned loose in the streets, and similar restrictions.

But though Luther emphasized agriculture, he avoided a mistake common in his day, *i. e.,* to counsel a return to the land, leaving all other pursuits. That was in the program of many of the radicals of those days as it has been the panacea of so many utopian reformers before and since. According to Luther, the artisans, the merchants, the master craftsmen, all serve their useful purpose in the world, though many of their number through selfishness abuse the good will of their fellow-beings.

In a progressive scheme of production a division of labor is essential. It first gives opportunity to develop the industrial activities of a people to their highest point of efficiency by assigning to each member of the community his specific task in which he must become proficient. Adam Smith's classic example of the English needle industry is commonly cited in text-books. Luther spoke no less clearly on the matter than did Adam Smith, though he used the simple, homely language of the common man to point his lesson. He draws his illustrations also from the needle industry, not from the makers, but from the users of the needle, the tailors, and states that in France, where one man is assigned to the coat, another to the vest, another

to the trousers, they can do their work much quicker and better than when one man is obliged to make the whole suit.

Aside from the resources of nature and the skill and organization of man, production rests on capital and credit. Capital in modern days has opened the bowels of the earth, drawing forth her treasures for the use of man. Capital has reared the modern industrial city with its dense population, its busy factories multiplying the productiveness of man a millionfold, its wonderful inventions. Capital has enlarged the narrow village outlook of man until to-day the ends of the world are brought together as the markets of the industrial nations. What does Luther say of capital and credit? The discussion of the productiveness of money continued throughout the medieval canon law. Money was held to be unproductive, and, therefore, to take interest was considered sinful. It was with Roman churchmen a thoroughly academic theory far removed from the actual conditions of life. But it was the rule of the all-powerful Church, and therefore held sway. Luther, however, basing himself on Luke 6, 35, maintains that loans ought to be granted freely, without the charge of interest; for if interest is taken, the welfare of the neighbor is not sought. In like spirit he is opposed to granting credit, and holds the best state to be creditless. If credit is granted, no certain time ought to be set for repayment, out of consideration for the creditor. Later in life Luther did, indeed, concede that 5 or 6 per cent. interest might not be absolutely wrong.

At this point Luther has been severely attacked. And one familiar in any way with the growth of modern industrial society is not likely to underestimate the importance of capital and credit in bringing about the wonderful age of iron and steel. But is it historically justified to judge Luther in the sixteenth century by the facts dominant in the twentieth? Hardly. Loans in Luther's day were mostly for use and not for investment. Through them the hard lot of the impoverished peasants was made still harder. Through them the struggling artisans were drawn into

a quagmire of hopeless indebtedness. Luther lived, indeed, in the beginning of the commercial expansion and the stupendous increase of money and capital. But as is always the case in such revolutions, the evils are paramount at first. Prices rise exorbitantly as money becomes cheap. The poor bear the burden as wages and returns for their activities progress only haltingly, and the ready remedy for an empty purse is the usurious loan, which only makes their lot the worse. To inveigh against such loans was, indeed, the soundest social and economic policy. To see the importance of investment capital and credit in our day requires, indeed, much technical study and experience. In Luther's day it was just beginning to be understood.

Production is carried on for consumption. The theory of consumption materially affects the possibility of production. At this point Luther radically departed from the medieval ideal, and the importance of his departure cannot be overstated. The Middle Age conception was negative over against the world. It was ascetic. To forego the wealth, beauty, and comfort of the world in self-imposed poverty and self-inflicted pain was the theme written by the Church on every interest of life. Luther substituted for it an interest in the things which God had created. If God made them, He made them for a good purpose, and man ought to use them according to the will of God. Luther speaks out against the luxury in eating and drinking and clothes, which seems to have been a common evil of the time. Back of these warnings lies, however, at all times, that broad, well-balanced, healthy joy in the things which the heavenly Father made for the proper use of His children. Instead of world-flight as contained in the ascetic view, there is contained here world-conquest. That precisely has been an underlying idea of human activity since the Reformation. It was carried out by the age of discoveries, by the progress of science, by the multiplication of inventions, by the development of the economic resources of the globe. Back of all of them stands Luther's healthy, sound view to use all the good things of God's creation.

Moreover, the positive theory of life stops not with the use and consumption of things. It is more potent even in the field of progressive production. If man no more is urged to flee the world and honest labor in a life of fruitless contemplations, what shall he do? Luther's answer is pointed. He shall serve his God by honestly doing his duty in whatever calling God has placed him. He shall work in the great family of workers on earth for the sake of the common welfare and the common progress. Be his work ever so humble, God's blessing rests on it if it is faithfully done. There is dynamic in this simple proposition, the dynamic which has inspired man in four short centuries to advance farther industrially than in all the centuries which preceded.

We turn now to a discussion of the next important division of economics, a discussion of money and exchange, and with that, value and price. Hutten was sponsor for a novel remedy to alleviate the social suffering of the day. He proposed to do away with all money. With him sided the radicals at Muenster. Luther was not in sympathy with this proposal. He granted the useful purpose which money serves in facilitating exchange. He had, of course, no developed theory on the question of standard or coinage, questions which did not meet with consideration in those days. But Luther knew the evils of bad money quite clearly. The right to coin in those days was a so-called regal or royal prerogative, granted at times to princes, cities, in few instances to merchants. For them it was a welcome opportunity of gain to debase the coinage. Thomas Gresham commonly receives credit for formulating the theory that bad or debased money invariably drives out good. Luther understands the theory quite well, though he lived a quarter of a century before the great English financier.

Luther does not see the purpose and value of trade, domestic and foreign, as we see it to-day. He stands, in that respect, completely on the ground of the schoolmen. They conceived of trade that one or the other party invariably was the loser. It sounds plausible enough, and is still the working principle of the traveling hucksters in Russia and

Turkey. In a developed commercial community it is quite clear, however, that both parties are the gainers, and that only on that basis can social life continue. Luther was always more or less suspicious of merchants and merchant transactions, and warns them time and again of the danger and temptations of their calling. Especially is he opposed to foreign trade, which was largely in the hands of Portugal in his day. He wants a law against foreign imports, and believes the money which travels out for spices, silks, and other things might much better stay in Germany. How common that sentiment was in those days is seen from the drastic action of the Diet of Nuremberg, 1522, which actually forbade German merchants from going to Portugal.

Closely akin is the question of value and price. It was a sore spot in that day. Prices had soared beyond all reach in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Spices especially had, in instances, increased 2,000 per cent. in price. On every hand arose complaints and demands for drastic action. In response to that popular excitement the Diet of Nuremberg took up the matter, and appointed a commission very much in the way in which our Government appoints commissions to look into the rise of prices. The blame was thrown on monopolies and merchants, and Luther joined in the common condemnation. Some blame attaches to them, no doubt; the greater, perhaps, to the high-handed methods and practises of the monopolists. A deeper and graver cause for the rapid rise in prices was the rapid increase in precious metals than the development of the Bohemian and Saxon silver mines and the influx of foreign gold. Money became cheap and prices rose. The only remedy for the situation was gradual readjustment through competition. Luther, in common with other men of his time, desired the government to fix prices according to equity. He realizes the difficulty of determining "the equity," especially with the continued fluctuations in the value of one article in comparison with all others. But he nevertheless favors a definite state-fixed price.

The last division in economics from the social stand-

point is the most important. To have the national income distributed justly among the groups that helped to create that income has been the motive for more than one bloody rising in history. It played a prominent rôle also in the popular upheaval of Reformation days. As for the workmen, Luther counsels maximum wage laws, condemning the selfishness of the workers in seeking ever higher wages. Modern statistical investigation has brought out the fact that the better strategic position of the employer invariably enables him to take care of himself, and that the employee needs the protection of the State to enable him to barter successfully for a fair wage. However, this truism did not become accepted except through the rise of the common man to a position of comparative political and economic independence which came only within the last century. The Reformation contributed largely to bring it about.

Nor is Luther a one-sided defendant of the possessing classes. His implacable hatred of the laziness of the clerics of the old church arose in religious interest, but its influence was economic. It helped to restrict a parasitic class enjoying a large income and doing no labor. It was thus a very direct step toward a more equitable distribution. The French Revolution was caused by the unfair division of wealth, the clergy holding a major share. A casual glance through the grievances of the German nation before the Reformation shows how large an issue the selfsame question was then.

In the same way does he speak against the luxury and excesses of the nobility and the wealthy merchants, and he holds up to them the crying needs of the poor. He wants the wealth distributed according to need. With different classes the standard of living is different. One needs more than the other. But their needs ought all to be supplied.

To attain these reforms Luther favors a great extension of state activities. Before the Reformation the Church in its external and internal courts had dealt with many of these questions such as usury, just prices, and others. In Luther's conception of things the Church had nothing to do with

them, as they were purely secular. In its place stepped the State. It ought to control prices. In order to do that the better, it can itself buy up large quantities of food, and store them to throw them on the market when prices are high. The example of Joseph's corn monopoly in Egypt wins his unqualified approval, and he believes the same policy quite feasible in his day, as, indeed, it was, for in many cases cities did store grain to put it on the market in times of scarcity. In like manner the State shall control wages and labor, determining them justly for all parties concerned. Lastly, consumption shall fall under the control of the State. It shall curtail excessive eating and drinking, the squandering of money on household and clothing, forbid the import of too many luxuries, and in every way see that its citizens lead a frugal, well-regulated life. The money derived from the secularization of monastic properties Luther wants the State to use for building up bridges, roads, public buildings, and the education of the young.

In the reform programs of Reformation days, and before, communism played a very important rôle. Luther never was greatly impressed with the idea. He did not agree with the claim that it is Christian. He pointed out that the early Jerusalem communism was not obligatory, and therefore could not be adduced as a binding rule. He points out that Christ had private property. As a practical question Luther considers communism the mortal enemy of honest labor.

It remains to point to some larger considerations involved in the question, and sum up. The discovery and colonization of foreign lands was a very prominent cause in that great economic activity following the Reformation. Hand in hand with it went the increase of precious metals, which was so necessary to finance the large undertakings characteristic of modern industry. Earlier than these was the use of the national spirit, and the gradual growth of national organization and laws to foster the industries of the various countries. These three factors were active before the Reformation, and in a measure contributed to the success of the Reformation movement.

The definite organic break with the old system did not come, however, until Luther burned the papal laws before the Elster Gate in 1520. The old Church was not an intellectual or theological system. It was an organized State superimposed upon the civil State, claiming precedence, and arrogating final control over every interest that may enter the human breast. Its spirit was reactionary and otherworldly, its ideals thoroughly impractical. If progress in harnessing this world to useful purpose should come, it could come only upon its ruin. There lies the great contribution of Luther to the economic advance of the world. It is not lessened by the fact that other currents, strong currents, were converging toward that point. It is not lessened by the many traces of medievalism in his economic thought which make him a true son of his time. It is not lessened by the host of others who thought and planned and worked with him to the same end. He was the leader, the eldest son of a tempestuously great period. He stepped out of a world of fanciful dreams and romantic exploits into a world of useful purpose. And as the world ever gives greater honor to the pioneer who bears the danger and hardships of unexplored lands than to the settler who succeeds him, so the greater honor belongs not to these later generations who carried on their shoulders the industrial advance of the world. It belongs to him who blazed the trail: Martin Luther.

Luther a Lover of Nature.

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It would have been a psychological phenomenon had a mind as broad as Luther's and gifted with such unusual versatility, shown no interest in the pages of God's wonderful book of nature, had the starry vault of heaven, the velvet of the lily, and the glow of the rose never spoken to him the silent, but eloquent language of the almighty God.

But we need not guess at Luther's love of nature, for

it is sufficiently recorded by contemporary writers, and is evident, above all, from the writings of the Reformer.

Luther knew nature. We must not judge of his knowledge of nature by merely thinking of the scenery which he saw on his journey to Italy, his travels through Southern Germany, his visit to beautiful Heidelberg, and his forced stay in the lofty Wartburg and the castle of Coburg, but we must take into account his keenness of observation and the nature of his labors in studying and translating the Bible, which is brimful of nature-references.

Now as to the countries he saw, — beautiful Italy, the lofty Alps, the romantic Thuringia, in whose woods and fields he roved after school with his well-beloved brother Jacob, — it is true, he saw them mostly at a time when his mind was filled with grave theological thoughts, when he endured inward conflicts and outward strife, and was in no mood to fully contemplate and enjoy nature. He had the same experience as our American pioneers, who almost overlooked the surrounding beauties of nature because their minds were bent on keeping the wolf from their doors, and their eyes were searching for the lurking Indians instead of the flowers in the woods.

Still, the writings of Luther show that even this stormy period of his life did not completely exclude his "communion with the visible forms" of nature. His comparatively more quiet years, however, when he lived his married life in the cloister by the city-moat of Wittenberg and tilled his own garden, or betook himself to his "little oasis," or to the little farm at Zuelsdorf, made up for this loss, and many a moment was then given to observing the wonders of nature, and to praising the power of God in every blade of grass.

As to his task of translating the Bible, with all the mention of so many birds, beasts, insects, flowers, and trees, it could not but rouse his attention to nature round about him, and lead him to compare Oriental plants and animals with those of Germany.

In fact, to find a correct translation for some Hebrew words designating flowers, etc., often gave Luther considerable

trouble. On one occasion his knowledge of the hyacinth is too limited. He is puzzled because the Bible speaks of its color as being blue, whilst Luther is acquainted with none but the yellow kind. On another occasion he blankly confesses his ignorance of a certain root mentioned in the Hebrew text. Now all these many occasions for weighing terms and finding accurate translations were certainly conducive to close observation and nature-study.

Just to illustrate how often he mentions nature, and how remarkably well he knew it, take, for example, what he says of birds. The swallow he describes as to its color, its noisy twitter, its uselessness, and its aggressiveness; "for," says he, "it molests the cows." Of the sparrows he says that they are a very pest to the peasants, robbing, stealing, devouring anything they can lay hold of: oats, barley, wheat, rye, apples, pears, cherries, and so on; birds that rapidly multiply, and whose entire song consists of "Scrip, scirp." The cuckoo he describes as a dirty bird, which sucks the eggs of other birds, lays his own into their nests, and expects them to hatch them. The call of the cuckoo is merely his own name, whilst his *habitat* is generally found where the lark is. Of the peacock he reports that it is a very jealous bird, and he classes it with doves, pheasants, siskins, finches, wrens, thistle-birds, robins, and thrushes among the "proud birds." Of crows and blackbirds he gives it as his opinion that they enjoy their own cawing. He shows how birds during winter lie apparently dead in nests, stone-rifts, crevices, and hollow places along river banks, till spring calls them to new life. He tells of the ostrich how hard-hearted it is, not attending to hatching or tending of its offspring, and how it hides its head in the sand. He knows how owls and bats shun the light, and how the magpie, by persistent effort, is taught to talk. He speaks of the filthy nest of the hoopoe and of the cleanness of the dove. He describes pigeons "with white shining wings like silver, but beautifully green and golden on the back, where the wings meet, birds without meanness." He mentions the keen eyes of the falcon, and the circling of the hawk, who tries to take

the chicks that hide under their mother's wings. He has watched the buzzard looking for carrion, and has seen the pigeon, sparrow, chicken, and yellow-breast pick up the seed of the sower from the furrows. He is acquainted with the sweet song of the birds and also with the senseless chatter of the parrot. He knows well the fowler's art, who snares the birds with nets, grain, and decoy-birds.

Space forbids the enumeration of the multitude of things in nature mentioned in Luther's writings. He has watched the clumsiness of cows and the helpless movements of hogs, eager to feed, which finally fall into the trough. He has noticed how spiders catch flies, and how they extract poison from the very rose which yields honey to the bee. He knows the gentleness and helplessness of sheep, and minutely describes their ways.

And as he studies animals, so likewise plants. He knows the labor of the peasant and the task of the wine-grower, the preparation of the soil, the pruning and suckering of vines. He expresses his surprise how the bare country around Wittenberg produces good wine, and how flowers which cling to the naked rock yield honey to the bee. In short, the observant reader of Luther's works cannot but notice how well the Reformer is acquainted with nature.

Just one example to show how closely he observes. Of hens he writes: "There is no other bird, indeed, scarcely any other animal, which so warmly and seriously takes care of its young ones, or chicks, as does the hen. Behold how she lives and acts for her chicks, how she even changes her voice and the way of calling them when she leads them. See how she behaves and spreads her wings, when you come near her chicks, yea, how she flies at you. No other animal has such warmth of heart as the hen."

But Luther's eyes have not only seen these smaller things in nature, quite often he also speaks of the most majestic handiworks of the Creator: the sun, the moon, and the stars, the mountains and the clouds, the eclipses, the thunderstorms, the tides, and the earthquakes.

But how did Luther regard nature? Was his mind

poisoned with the hypotheses of a spurious science which tries to deprive the Creator of His glory, and put a halo around mud? By no means. Luther regards nature not as an independent force, but as a creature obeying God, always and everywhere under His rule and guidance. He does not, like some of our foolish-wise naturalists, hold the "laws of nature" to be unchangeable regulations to which God Himself must submit, but merely rules of His own sovereign devising, according to which He ordinarily guides the universe, but which He at once with sovereign power casts aside when they do not suit His purposes.

Speaking of the solid mountains and the mighty sea, Luther exclaims: "God possesses the art of drying up the ocean, as though a bridge were thrown across it, and to make the soft water as hard as a wall, whilst, on the other hand, the mountains become as soft as a lake or river."

That nature is God's creation, a manifestation of His power, wisdom, and goodness, a precious gift even now, after it has been sadly marred by sin, is the underlying thought of Luther's love of nature. This love is no idolatry, no misguided worship of blind forces, but a healthy, noble, reverent way of looking at God's creation. He truly "looks through nature up to nature's God," and this clear vision in the light of the Word of God makes his utterances regarding nature sane and safe.

Luther's writings so abound with splendid passages showing how he sees God's handiwork in all nature that it is difficult for that reason to make merely a selection. See how reverently he speaks of this matter in the following words: "In short, in all, even the smallest of creatures, yea, in their members also, the omnipotence of God is plainly seen, and great miracles are laid before us. For what man, be he ever so powerful, wise, or holy, can bring forth a fig-tree out of a fig, or make one fig out of another, or from one cherry-stone make another or create a cherry-tree? Or how can he even know how God creates, preserves, and multiplies everything?"

Again he says: "One cannot grasp God, and yet one feels

His presence, for everywhere He shows Himself and makes Himself known, and He proves Himself a benevolent Creator, who blesses us with all good gifts, to which sun and moon, heaven and earth, and all the fruits of the soil bear witness."

Because Luther so clearly beholds God in nature, he is convinced that it is the duty of every creature to praise the Lord. The Christian's principal aim and purpose, he says, should be to praise God, to magnify Him "as the sole Creator and the Lord of all that is in heaven and earth; not only because He has created us, but because He has made everything for our service and benefit. Sun and moon must give us light by day and night; the heavens must give us rain, clouds, shade, and dew; the earth must yield us various plants and animals; the water must provide us with fish and countless necessities; the air must give us fowls and our breath; the fire must warm us, and serve us in many other ways. And who can enumerate all gifts of God? One cannot better state them, nor otherwise, than in these brief words: "The works of the Lord are great." Luther is sure that the works and benefits of God cannot be counted "though one would count from now on to all eternity," and cannot be named "though all leaves and blades of grass were tongues."

At the same time he knows well that nature now, in consequence of the fall of man, is greatly corrupted and not as beautiful as when it came from the hands of the Creator. Of the sun, of whose glory he so often speaks in glowing terms, he makes this remarkable statement: "The sun is not at all as pretty, bright and clear now as it was when it was created, but through man's fault is about half dark, rusty, and soiled." He is convinced that on Judgment Day God will cleanse and burnish the sun "that it will be brighter and clearer than in the beginning."

Despite all the ravages which sin has made on nature, Luther is sure that it still speaks to us of God, that it is worthy of daily contemplation, and that the book of nature contains many lessons for us all. He admonishes us to learn the articles of resurrection when we see the sower casting seed into the ground, which becomes grain in due time. He

writes: "With this farming which I am now doing, with my sowing and planting, God would teach me the work which He will some time perform upon me."

The testimony which nature gives to the existence and benevolence of God, according to Luther, loudly cries out against unbelief. He writes: "In such a weighty matter little testimony or small witnesses would not be sufficient; here the beautiful, high, lofty heavens with the noble sun and moon and all the stars must take the stand. Here also the earth with all her plants, with all birds and beasts, and the great wide sea with all its fish, and everything that stirs therein, must appear for their God, and give testimony against the ungodly to uphold His divine glory and justice, and to confirm His judgments."

Luther shows that human reason and wisdom can yet of itself get so far that it argues, "although feebly," that there must be one, eternal, divine being which has created all things, governs and preserves them, because there are such excellent creatures in heaven and earth, so wonderful, orderly, and firmly established, moved and governed by His hand. Reason must, says he, admit that they did not get there by accident, and that they cannot move of their own accord, but that there must needs be a Creator and Lord by whom all things are made and governed as St. Paul shows Rom. 1, 20. He is therefore quite sure that all who live and breathe, and fail to perceive their God, are without excuse for their agnosticism. He tersely says: "There is no cow, no calf, no sheep, when it bawls and bellows, that does not bawl over all the godless as over God's enemies, who are not worthy to enjoy them to their benefit, yea, to eat a single morsel of bread, or to take a drink of water." He exclaims: "O God, what a fearful and terrible judgment will befall the world because it does not see these miracles! Note at this point what the world really is, what a devilish thing it is! It is hardened and deluded, and does not see God's miracles."

Luther is angered at the ungodly world, which denies the Creator. The fall of man, he points out, is responsible for

man's deplorable blindness. He gives vent to his feelings in these pathetic words: "The world, after the fall of Adam, knows neither God nor the creatures, lives in all things contrary to the glory of God, praises, honors, and glorifies Him not. O what fine, beautiful, cheering thoughts man would have had if he had not fallen! How he would have beheld God in all creatures! Even in the smallest and most ordinary flowers he would have contemplated God's omnipotence, wisdom, and benevolence." Adam and all his children, Luther says, might have rejoiced over the creation, but "on account of the miserable, ruinous fall of man there is no such rejoicing; on the contrary, the Creator is blasphemed and dishonored."

Luther believes that the right and reverent contemplation of nature is decreasing more and more as sin increases and the end of the world draws near. He thinks that people before the Flood enjoyed nature better than is done now. Speaking of the Antediluvian people, he remarks: "They diligently contemplated God's creatures, both in heaven and on earth, and took great pleasure in them. Then there was more delight in a fresh, cool spring of water than there is now in the choicest of wines."

Nature is crippled by sin, and man, who was fully to enjoy it, has fallen into sin; but nature shall be renewed and glorified. Luther, in strong faith and ardent hope, writes: "How beautiful our Lord and God has created this perishable temporal kingdom, to wit, heaven and earth, and all that it contains! How much more beautiful will He make that incorruptible, eternal kingdom!" And this glorious new creation will never be subjected to misuse by world or devil. The groaning of nature will be at an end.

Meanwhile we Christians will patiently wait and enjoy nature in its present form as well as we may; indeed, Luther says that the Christian alone can rightly enjoy nature.

Luther is certainly a model to us in this sane Christian enjoyment, which consists in loving nature as God's gift to man, but puts the love of God and the worship of the Creator far, far above it. He says: "All other things are

but chaff when compared with Christ, the Son of God. For He has created the heavens, the earth, and all creatures, whereof one might fitly sing and rejoice." Again he says: "Now, if I keep this in mind that God's Son was made man, and if I believe in Him, then all creatures appear a hundredfold more beautiful than they now do. You will truly understand what the sun, moon, stars, trees, apples, and pears are if you understand that He is Lord, and that everything is concerned with Him."

The "origin of the species," which is such a stumbling-block to the ungodly scientist, is to Luther not a mystery that he tries to solve by some silly hypothesis, but as clear as daylight: it is an arrangement of the Creator; and the continuance of the species is to Luther's mind an evidence that there is an overruling Providence. He writes: "A cow always brings forth a cow, a horse, a horse, etc. No cow gives birth to a horse, nor a horse to a cow. Therefore it must incontrovertibly follow that there is something which governs all things. We can easily apprehend God from the sure and unchangeable movement, course, and circling of the stars of heaven."

Luther calls it a satanic delusion when people think they must search out with their benighted reason those things which God has clearly revealed. In speaking of the mystery of the resurrection of the body, he says: "Thus does Satan blind people that they cannot rightly see any work of God; again, that they do pay attention to the Word, but would comprehend everything with their finite minds." This is both sinful and foolish, says Luther, because it is absolutely impossible. He says: "Should you thoroughly examine into a single grain of seed in the field, the shock, as it were, of admiration would take your life's breath away. God's works are so infinitely superior to ours." All these remarks of Luther tend to show us that he does not at all agree with the modern infidel scientist, but sees nature as a simple, reverent child of God.

Hearing all these expressions of Luther's nature-loving, pious heart, the question is easily answered whether or not

Luther loved nature, and it remains only to notice in what manner he gave expression to it.

Luther was first and always a theologian, and does not give expression to his love of nature in every instance where a superficial student of the Bible would expect it, *e. g.,* in his commentary on the 19th Psalm. Here the reader might expect to find some glowing eulogy of nature. He will be disappointed, because Luther, as a trusty theologian, shows that these words of God do not treat of nature, but of the far grander glory of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, whose splendor outshines all the sunrises man ever beheld.

Luther's love of nature is throughout in due subjection to his theology, and his knowledge of nature is fitly employed to illustrate the power of the Almighty. How great his love of nature was is readily seen from this remark: "I believe that in the life to come we shall have nothing else to do than to ponder over and admire our Creator and His creatures." Here in life Luther often lacked the time to fully indulge in his love of nature. The busy, overburdened theologian, who constantly studied, who preached thousands of sermons, translated the entire Bible, wrote great numbers of books, and in letters and otherwise counseled hundreds of people, could rarely go out into the realm of nature merely to rest, or to enjoy and to drink in its beauty, and we hear of but one instance where he went into the forest just to enjoy it.

But Luther's love of nature, nevertheless, shows itself in many ways. Besides hundreds of direct references to nature, we often meet with splendid comparisons drawn from nature in his writings. The Bible, *e. g.,* he fitly compares to rain, which moistens and refreshes the earth; to a fountain, from which we draw living water; to a tree, which has branches, limbs, and twigs full of luscious fruit. He tells us that he had "knocked against every tree of this forest, and had plucked and shaken from it a few apples and pears."

In another passage he says of the preaching of the Gospel, as well as of the disappointments connected with it, that it is "like the trees in springtime, when every branch is full of blossoms, and people wonder how they would be able to

store all the expected fruit, till a rain comes upon them, and the wind knocks off nine-tenths of the blossoms, and the remaining tenth is partly worm-eaten."

One excellent comparison he draws in these words: "When the sun rises and darkens [outshines] the moon, that moon and stars lose their brightness, yea, are seen no longer during the day, because the light of the sun is too great in comparison. Moon and stars would gladly give us their light, but the sun with his glare and brightness is too strong for them. Thus it is also in this matter: the prophets are the stars and the moon, but Christ is the Sun, and wherever He appears, preaches, and shines, His Word is of such importance that the others seem as nothing in comparison and are not seen aside of Him, although the moon and the stars also shine very brightly. Thus Moses, the Law, and the prophets are indeed learned and fine preachers, but compared with the preaching of Christ they amount to nothing." These and a hundred other fine comparisons from nature show how lovingly Luther's mind dwelt upon God's creation.

In three renowned letters, one of them written to Dr. Brueck, another to his family, while he watched the proceedings at Augsburg from his seclusion on the Coburg, and the third to his beloved son Haenschen, he resorts altogether to nature.

In the letter to Dr. Brueck he speaks of stars and the vault of heaven and the clouds as being upheld by the hand of the Almighty, showing Dr. Brueck that God would likewise uphold the cause of the Reformation without human aid.

In the letter to his family written at Coburg, he facetiously likens the great conclave at Augsburg to a gathering of blackbirds, which he noticed from his window in the castle, and he goes into a lengthy description of their doings.

In the letter to his Haenschen he seeks to give his little boy joy, and draws for him the very finest picture of child-like happiness he can possibly find, and it results in a nature-essay — a garden "with beautiful apples, pears, cherries, and plums," and "a mossy place in the middle of the garden for

the children to skip about." Do not these letters argue that Luther was at heart an ardent lover of nature?

If proof were wanting, the culture of his own garden at Wittenberg and Zuelsdorf, where he sowed and planted for his recreation, would certainly show his love of nature. Once he asks his friend Link at Nuremberg to send various kinds of seed, and reports how his cucumbers and melons thrive "in spite of Duke George of Saxony and King Henry of England," as he playfully adds. Again he asks Link to send him a few pomegranates. To Spalatin he writes: "I have made a garden and have dug a well. Come, and you shall be crowned with roses and lilies." So here is true love of nature.

This is further evidenced by his choice of a pleasure-ground, as we might call it. Wittenberg itself was not a beautiful or romantic town, and the surroundings were not inviting. Myconius says of Wittenberg that it had "small, old, ugly, low, wooden houses, and resembled a village rather than a city." Luther himself writes: "Wittenberg lies at the very outskirts of civilization; if it had gone a little beyond, they would have been in the midst of Barbary." He joked about the sandhills, and wondered how God was able to bring forth out of the rock corn and good wine. Yet his love of nature helped him even here to find a charming oasis in the midst of the desert, a place now called Luther's Well. A hill near the Elbe River, a mile or more from the Elster Gate, where a spring of the purest water bubbled, so pleased Luther that he eventually built him a small house there, and resorted occasionally to it for his studies, or to spend an hour with his friends.

Luther's love of nature never flagged. His last sermon, held at Eisleben a few days before his death, is still rich in nature-love, and shows him to be a splendid observer and admirer of God's handiwork.

To summarize, then, the attitude of Dr. Martin Luther towards nature: Luther is not a naturalist like Audubon, Thoreau, or Muir, not a devotee of nature and dreamer like Wordsworth, Bryant, or Eichendorff, but a sane Christian

lover of nature, who is, first of all, a theologian, and who looks upon the book of nature as written by the hand of Almighty God to teach us His power, wisdom, and goodness. Luther is a true lover of nature; for him nothing in nature is too small to admire, and to him the heavens and the earth, the stars and the sea, the forests and the flowers of the field, the birds and the waving blades of grass alike sing the praises of Almighty God.

Music and the Reformation.

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The children of God have from time immemorial expressed their religious emotions through the tonal art. It was the language in which the Israelites addressed Jehovah, playing cymbals, psalteries, and harps, and lifting up their voice in joyous thanksgiving. It was employed by the early Christians, the apostles themselves exhorting them to sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs in praise of their Redeemer. It is used to-day always and everywhere in the service of Him who has given us this medium that we may thereby glorify His name.

And whenever an upward movement was in progress in the Church of God, it was accompanied by a fresh outburst of poetry and song among the common people, proclaiming in jubilant tones the dawn of reviving faith. During the great persecutions, the blood of which became the seed of the Church, nothing could restrain the faithful followers of Christ, who suffered ignominy and death rather than renounce their Savior, to chant their songs in the catacombs and subterranean vaults, "the roofs reechoing," according to St. Ambrose, "with the cries of 'Alleluia,' which in sound were like the waves of the surging sea." And at the time of the Reformation, when the Gospel again was preached in its purity and fulness, the people took recourse to music to express the joy and gladness that filled their hearts. They had long been silent, and had hung their harps on the willows. Held in the Babylon of popery for many centuries,

they could not but mourn and sigh for deliverance. But when the deliverance came, and they found their freedom in Christ Jesus, they broke forth in a song which was like the shout of a warrior who, after mortal combat, has triumphed over his foe.

And the instrument God chose as the head and front of the movement to restore to the people a musical service in keeping with the spirit of Scripture, was none other than the great Reformer himself, who had liberated them from the oppressive yoke of Antichrist. A remarkable man was Martin Luther, remarkable alike as a Christian, as a scholar, as a theologian, as the leader of the Reformation, as a poet, as an art-connoisseur, as a musician. Was there ever a man more universally gifted, and was there ever a man more singularly fitted to carry on in its various phases the Reformation in the New Testament Church? Before entering into the nature of his work, a brief reference to his musical education and inclinations will be appropriate.

Being passionately fond of music, the miner's son early became a member of the school-choir, called *Currende,* and as such was instructed in elementary counterpoint, the duty of the *Currendani* being to assist at divine services. The story is well known how one day, when Luther caroled his *panem propter Deum* in the streets of Eisenach, his hearty singing and gentle manners made a deep impression on Ursula Cotta, the pious wife of the burgomaster, who took him in and gave him a seat at her well-filled board. Throughout his long life the love of music remained with him. Whether he was in a melancholy or in a happy mood, he would often gather around him his family and friends, and sing with them, and perform on the lute and flute. He had a clear, strong tenor voice, and played like a virtuoso on the lute, so that on his journeys he would often attract the attention of the passers-by. Those who were not moved by a delightful masterpiece he called "coarse clogs," "only fit to listen to the howlings of animals." His letters to professional musicians show how he exalted "the noble art" above all other arts, placing it next to theology, and recognizing

its power as an inspiring and truth-conveying aid in the work of the Reformation. That he was more than a practical musician, and possessed considerable theoretical knowledge, we know from the fact that he was able to detect offenses against strict canonic part-writing, and that he would, as Ratzeberger relates, rectify such passages "according to his own intelligence." Only a musician well versed in art can enter minutely into the nature of a composition as does Luther with reference to an intricate motet by Josquin de Près, one of the most celebrated composers of his time.

Surely, Luther possessed the requisite musicianship to enable him to undertake the leadership in reforming ecclesiastic music, and great things did he accomplish for the music of the Church and for tonal art in general; indeed, his influence was so far-reaching that he is recognized as a musical factor by leading authorities. Every encyclopedia records his achievements; Grove's *Dictionary of Music* devotes two entire pages to "Luther, the Musician."

Turning now to a discussion of the nature of his work, we find that it consisted chiefly in the revision of the liturgy and the introduction of congregational singing. In revising the order of worship, Luther displayed the same sound judgment that characterized his other reforms, removing only what was not consistent with the changes in doctrine. In this he differed radically with some of the sectarians, who in their attitude towards the fine arts went far beyond the Scriptures. Being filled with antipathy to all existing usages, they purposed to arrest the growth of art. A fierce spirit of iconoclasm swept over a portion of the Reformed Church. Every vestige of prescribed form was renounced, monuments and stained glass windows destroyed, organs demolished, choirs banished from their places of worship, and the service reduced to the baldest simplicity. In the century following the Reformation the Puritans took similar steps under Cromwell. To such fanatics Luther replied: "I do not think that all arts should be trampled under foot by the Gospel and vanish before it, as some deluded clericals [Zwingli, Carlstadt, etc.] pretend. I long to see all arts,

especially music, in the service of Him who created them." Fortunately, the great body of Protestants accepted their leader's wise counsel, and retained the art of music as the handmaid of religion. In all his reforms Luther held his mission to be that of a purifier, not a destroyer. The change was, however, sufficiently great to revolutionize completely the church music system. "That the Word of God might be administered in the congregation with vigor and in purity, that they might become familiar with it, appropriate it, and through it be led to approach God with prayer, supplication, and thanksgiving, — such remained the sole aim of Luther in the arrangements which he made at Wittenberg, and desired to introduce in other places. . . . As the great existing abuses in the public service of the church he indicates that the Word of God is not proclaimed, while, upon the other hand, unchristian fables and lies have been introduced into the ecclesiastical lections, hymns, and sermons, and such services are conducted as a work which is expected to merit the favor of God. He now made thorough work in the exclusion of these innovations." (Koestlin, *Life of Luther.*)

The initial steps were the provisional *Formulae Missae* (1523) and the new order for the *Deutsche Messe,* sung at Wittenberg on Christmas Day, 1525. Kapellmeister Conrad Rupf and Cantor Johann Walther were closely associated with him in this work. They had been called to Wittenberg by command of the Elector of Saxony that Luther might consult them as to the shape the mass should take, and the music to be set to it. Walther, who remained Luther's friend and "musical Melanchthon," relates: "He kept me three long weeks at Wittenberg to write choral notes to the Gospels and Epistles, until the first German mass should be sung in the parish church. I was present at the performance, and by direction of the Doctor took a copy of the mass to Torgau for presentation to his Grace, the Elector." Walther further states that Luther himself invented choral tunes on the flute, and underlaid them to the Gospels and Epistles, singing them to the criticizing co-adjutors, who noted them down.

The "German Mass" has the usual order and embraces, 1) a people's hymn or a German psalm, 2) Kyrie Eleison and Gloria in Excelsis (Allein Gott in der Hoeh' sei Ehr'), 3) collect, 4) the Epistle for the day, 5) congregational hymn, 6) the Gospel for the day, sung by the minister, 7) the Nicene Creed, recited by the whole congregation, or the German paraphrase of the Creed, "Wir glauben all' an einen Gott," sung by the people, 8) the sermon, 9) the Lord's Prayer and exhortation preliminary to the Sacrament, 10) the words of institution, sung by the minister, 11) singing of the German Sanctus, 12) Agnus Dei, or in German, "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig," followed by the distribution of the Lord's Supper, 13) collect of thanksgiving, 14) benediction. It will be observed that Luther retained in the mass the word signifying the whole public service, and some of the prayers of the Catholic liturgy; but he removed all objectionable features that had been introduced during the rule of papacy, such as the canon, which characterized the mass as a priestly act, the invocation of the saints, the commemoration of the dead, and all the pomp and paraphernalia of a gaudy worship. The adoration of the saints and the virgin-mother was substituted by the worship of Christ, the only Mediator, and the preaching of the Word was made the central feature of the service, about which all revolves. Thus the reformation of doctrines led to a reconstruction of worship on the basis of Scripture, "bringing the worshipers into direct communication with God in Christ through the Word of God and through prayer, without the obstruction of human mediators." (E. Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church.*) It will be understood that it was far from Luther's intention to impose any particular form of worship on the Evangelical party, yet the *Deutsche Messe* has been virtually used in the Lutheran Church until this day, the various bodies differing only in minor particulars.

We must not fail to emphasize the fact that Luther introduced into worship in place of Latin the language of the people, and congregational singing as a substitute for the chanting of the priests. Except the prominence given to the

preaching of the Gospel, no detail of his liturgical reform was as important as the labor he bestowed upon the introduction of congregational singing; none, surely, was greater in its influence. With limitless zeal Luther applied himself to the problem of producing a new hymnody for the people. True it is, hymns existed before the Reformation, even in the vernacular (see Wackernagel's collection); but they were tolerated only on special occasions, the laity not being permitted to sing them in the liturgical services. The whole theory of the musical system being oligarchical, singing had become a function of the clergy. Thus the Catholic Church was a spoiler of the rights of the people, who were condemned to be passive spectators of the ceremonial pageant, silent listeners to the priestly chant, which they could not understand. Moreover, excepting several fine specimens by Ambrose, Prudentius, and others, the pre-Reformation hymns were grossly offensive and blasphemous, given chiefly to the worship of the saints and the Virgin Mary, some going so far as to teach the preexistence of Mary with God at the creation, that all things are created in her and for her. It was, therefore, not merely out of love of song, but also from necessity that the leader of the Reformation became the father of German hymnology. While he was engaged in translating the Psalms, "the spirit of the Psalmist came over him" and the first hymns of the Reformation were produced. Luther is the author of thirty-six hymns. Some of them were translated from the Latin, as, "Herr Gott, dich loben wir"; others were paraphrases of Psalms and other portions of Scripture, as, "Aus tiefer Not schrei' ich zu dir" and "Jesaiah, dem Propheten, das geschah"; again others were strictly original, as, "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort." Luther incited his coworkers to write and adapt hymns, and soon a host of hymn-writers sprang up, who were all more or less influenced by Luther, among them being Justus Jonas, Paul Ebert, Nicolaus Herman, and Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg.

No other poems of their class ever aroused so much interest among the people. Soon after the first hymn-book of

Protestant Germany was published by Walther in 1524, four different printing-presses were sending forth edition upon edition until, at the time of Luther's death, no less than forty-seven collections had appeared. Who can tell what a blessing these hymns have been to Christendom? Scattered far and wide, they became, next to the German Bible and the German sermon, the most powerful agency in disseminating the new evangel, and furthering the cause of the Reformation, "a powerful witness to the great truths which were the corner-stone of the doctrines of the reformed Church. They constantly emphasize the principle that salvation comes not through works or any human mediation, but only through the merits of Christ and faith in His atoning blood. The whole machinery of Mariolatry, hagiolatry, priestly absolution, and personal merit, which had so long stood between the individual soul and Christ, was broken down. Christ is no longer a stern, hardly appeasable Judge, but a loving Savior, yearning over mankind, stretching out hands of invitation, asking not a slavish submission to formal observances, but a free, spontaneous offering of the heart. This was the message that thrilled Germany." (Edw. Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church.*) Countless stories are told showing how quickly the hymns of Luther passed into common use, and sang the Reformation into the hearts of the people. Young and old sang them in public and in private, in church and on the market-place; they were, so to speak, in every one's mouth. Thus in Magdeburg, in 1524, an old man was sitting in the market-place, singing them to the people, and selling the broad sheets, when the burgomaster, on his way from church, saw the crowd, and had the "evil fellow" cast into prison for his "heretical" singing. But as many as two hundred burghers went straight up to the city hall to intercede for him. Such a deputation could not be resisted; no, nor yet the two little boys who, at the close of a popish sermon in one of the churches at Lubeck, just as the preacher was going to commence his prayers for the dead, rose to strike up one of Luther's noblest Reformation hymns, in which presently the whole congregation

joined, — a practise afterwards repeated in that good old town whenever an antievangelical sermon was preached, till at last the city council felt it needful to open the pulpit to the Gospel ministry. A plan, this, more effectual and far more pleasant than that of the celebrated Janet Geddes for abolishing the mass, not by hurling footstools at the heads of unlucky priests, but by singing them down in Gospel praises. To come to even higher effects: it is credibly testified by one who lived close to that time that many hundreds were converted to the true faith by means of that second earliest hymn of Luther "Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice" (Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein). A Carmelite opponent of the Reformer relates how the cause of Luther had been marvelously advanced through these hymns, which, as he says, were sung, not merely in churches and schools, but in houses and workshops, in markets, streets, and fields. Nay, strangest of all, such was their popularity that they were even introduced in the Roman Catholic churches, and some of them actually appear in a popish hymn-book printed at Cologne in 1610, "by order of the Prince-Bishop of Spires." Thus the hymns proved a force with which emperors, bishops, and all the powers of darkness grappled in vain. "By his songs he has conquered us," exclaimed Cardinal Cajetan, and an indignant Jesuit declared that "Luther's songs have damned more souls than all his books and speeches." There was truth in the assertion that Luther had made more converts by his hymns than by his preaching.

Before speaking of other elements of the musical service, we must mention that hymn which, among all hymns of the Reformation, reigns supreme, and has become the watchword of Protestantism. Although Luther drew his inspiration for "Ein' feste Burg" from the 46th Psalm, yet nothing could be more original in phraseology, nothing more characteristic of the spirit of the Reformation. It is by common consent the grandest of all hymn-tunes. Born of deep tribulation, in the disastrous year of 1527, it utters tones of defiance and of the all-conquering power of the Christian faith. It is a song "with which armies have been nerved for victory,

with which myriads of Christian worshipers still fan their devotion as they gather around the altars of their Lord, and which is to this day the noblest existing battle-song of the children of righteousness and liberty in their conflicts with the powers of darkness and death. Its words and notes — both the creations of the great soul that led the Reformation — thrill on the heart like bugle-blasts from heaven." (Seiss, *Ecclesia Lutherana.*) No other hymn has ever been as popular. Sung the length and breadth of the German empire, and reproduced many times in other languages, it served as wings to carry the truth far and wide. No other sacred tune has ever been admired as much by eminent men of every shade and opinion, by princes and potentates, authors and composers. Each employed it in several cantatas, Mendelssohn in his Reformation Symphony, Meyerbeer in his opera *The Huguenots,* Wagner in his celebrated *Kaisermarsch,* not to speak of Raff, Goddard, and other lesser lights who have made the melody the subject of study. Frederick the Great called it — in all seriousness — "God Almighty's Grenadier March." And Carlyle remarks: "There is something in it like the sound of Alpine avalanches or the first murmur of earthquakes, in the very vastness of which dissonance a higher unison is revealed to us. . . . It is evident that to this man all popes, cardinals, emperors, devils, all hosts and nations were but weak, weak as the forest with all its strong trees might be to the smallest spark of electric fire." Heine's tribute is so brilliant that the reader will pardon us for quoting a critic who was not wont to show reverence for things sacred. "Not less remarkable," says the German poet, "not less significant than his prose works were Luther's poems, those stirring songs which, as it were, escaped from him in the very midst of his combats and his necessities like a flower making its way from between rough stones, or a moonbeam gleaming amid dark clouds. Luther loved music; indeed, he wrote a treatise on the art. Accordingly, his versification is highly harmonious, so that he may be called the Swan of Eisleben. Not that he is by any means gentle or swanlike in his songs. . . . In these he is fervent,

fierce. The hymn which he composed on his way to Worms,* and which he and his companions chanted as they entered that city, is a regular war-cry. The old cathedral trembled when it heard these novel sounds. The very rooks flew from their nests in the towers. That hymn, the Marseillaise of the Reformation, has preserved to this day its potent spell over German hearts." "To this day," we can truthfully say, applying these words to our own times, for Heine's prediction that it would again be heard in Europe in like manner as of old has been fulfilled. No other hymn is sung so often in the present war, sung by the soldiers on their way to the front and in the trenches, sung by the people in the churches, and when they have their gatherings in the public squares. And notwithstanding the fact that it is being misused by many who think of their earthly fatherland when they sing, "Das *Reich* muss uns doch bleiben," who will dare to deny that the hymn of hymns still has the power to sing the bold and joyful spirit of justifying faith into the hearts of men?

The enormous popularity of the Lutheran hymns is in no small degree due to the compelling force of their lovely and hearty melodies. These were taken from Latin hymns and from sacred and secular folk-songs, the latter being earnest in tone, unlike most of the popular music of our day. Others were composed by those who arranged and adapted hymns. It has been the custom to deny Luther all share in the composition of chorals, but we have the testimony of Walther and of Sleidan, the nearly contemporary of the Reformer, and until stronger arguments are brought forward than those advanced by Baeumker and Kade, whose "discoveries" crumble to dust in the light of unbiased and judicious criticism, we shall acknowledge Luther as the composer of some of the finest choral melodies, "Ein' feste Burg," "Vater unser im Himmelreich," and others.

Originally the chorals possessed great variety of rhythm,

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* Heine is here speaking of "Ein' feste Burg." He is mistaken as to the date of its composition. Luther wrote it in 1527, three years before the Diet of Augsburg.

triple measure and syncopations being common; but they are now usually sung in notes of equal length, which gives the song a dull, lifeless character. This change was completed during the period of rationalism in the eighteenth century. The efforts of German churchmen to restore the original style have proved fruitless. It is but natural that the primitive form has been adopted by those Lutheran church-bodies in this country that have returned to sound sixteenth-century Lutheranism.

While congregational singing had become central, and necessarily received more careful attention than any other part of the musical service, yet artistic choir music was not neglected at the time of the Reformation; on the contrary, it commanded the admiration of Luther, who advocated the use of it, contending that it served to beautify the service. A number of writers of motet music appeared throughout Germany, prominent among them being Ludwig Senfl, a contemporary of the Reformer, Hans Leo Hassler (1564—1612), and Johann Eccard (1553—1611). Among the Reformed Churches the Church of England adopted Luther's conservative principle with regard to the position of the choir in public worship.

The organ was not commonly used in Luther's days to support congregational singing. This was then the office of the choir. But later (1600), when its unique utility for accompanying was recognized, the queen of instruments superseded the choir, and "from that time on dates the development of a new school of organ-playing, based on the free choral variations." (E. Dickinson, *The Study of the History of Music.*)

But if music has done much for the Reformation, the Reformation, in return, has done much for music. Spitta, Naumann, and other eminent historians agree that through his songs Luther gave to tonal art an impulse that was extraordinary. They led to an entire change in text, expression, and melody. Treated in four-part harmony, they implied a liberation of harmony, and gave birth to a new class of music — fugues, cantatas, oratorios, and other

modern forms. Thus the music of the Reformation suggested a new art of harmony, to which the music of to-day owes the greater part of its boundless wealth. If they had not been inspired by the grandeur and beauty of Lutheran church music, Bach, Mendelssohn, and Brahms could not have written their great choral and organ works, in which they glorify the doctrines of Scripture. Several attestations by notable English and American writers on music are deserving of mention. We read in the *Encyclopedia Britannica:* "The placing of the choral song of the church within the lips of the people had great religious and moral influence; it has had also its great effect upon art, shown in the production of the North German musicians ever since the first days of the Reformation, which abound in exercises of scholarship and imagination wrought upon the tunes of established acceptance." John K. Paine, whilom Professor of Music at Harvard University, writes: "The foundation of the future greatness of German music was laid during the Reformation. . . . We have reaped the fruits of the Reformation not only in our modern religious and social freedom, but also in some of the highest forms of musical art." (*The History of Music to the Death of Schubert.*) Says Waldo S. Pratt in his *History of Music:* "Much of the wealth and depth of modern music may surely be traced in a large measure to the mental and spiritual stimulus accompanying the rise of Protestantism."

What, then, devolves upon us, who have become heirs to the Reformation? It is our duty to acknowledge gratefully its manifold blessings, and to show our gratitude by cherishing dearly the treasures God has so graciously bestowed upon us through Luther, foremost and above all the preaching of the pure Gospel, but also, and in no small measure, the musical part of our service with its congregational hymn. Our liturgy is neither bare nor pompous, but simple, solemn, and Scriptural, gaining favorable recognition among Reformed Churches, which feel a need for liturgic service. And as to our chorals, they are commonly conceded to be unexcelled models of their type, and "are

finding their way into the better English and American hymn-books of all denominations." (Lutkin, *Music in the Church.*) Even in the Church of England, the liturgy of which is modeled after that of our Church (see Dr. Jacobs, *Lutheran Movement in England*), and which has better music than the other Reformed bodies, the superiority of the Lutheran hymns is recognized. In *Christian Life in Song* an Anglican writer candidly avers: "We have not one composition corresponding with the earliest burst of German song. This primary formation with its massive strength and its mountain ranges, upheaved by the great inward fire of the Reformation, is with the Churches of England altogether wanting. And the deficiency is significant." Shall we, then, reject the heritage that others are learning to prize highly? Far from it. In matters of faith we make no concessions to the fads and fancies of the hour. This must be our position also with regard to the music of our Church. It is obvious that the melodies of the professional revivalist, which have crept into the hymn-books of many non-Lutheran denominations, are not deserving of use in worship. The constant use of the three major harmonies in their simplest positions precludes a proper interpretation of the text by harmonic devices, and makes the tunes sound cheap and monotonous. Let us never use such unworthy substitutes, which have no devotional value. "Ecclesiastical ragtime" may be a fitting ornament for the meeting of Billy Sunday, but it is surely not suitable in a service which is characterized by solemnity and dignity, and in which everything is done unto edifying. The same is true regarding choir and organ music. It cannot be denied that the selections made are not always in good taste, modern popular strains often receiving generous support, whereas the classics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are neglected.

We conclude by quoting the composer of the *Messiah,* who, when he spoke of the beautiful choruses he had written, exclaimed: "But what is all this compared to the grandest of all makers of harmony — above, above!"

God grant that we may ever employ to His honor the

precious gift of music, until we shall, through the infinite merits of our Savior, enter life everlasting, there to appear before "the grandest of all masters of harmony," and join the angelic choir in rapturous song, there to sing the hymns of joy unspeakable, and to hear the voice come out of the throne, saying: "Praise our God, all ye His servants, and ye that fear Him, both small and great. . . . Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God forever and ever. Amen."

Luther and the Classics.

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In preparing this study, I have drawn somewhat heavily on Luther's *Table Talk*, using the critical edition of Weimar, of recent times, Hermann Boehlau's Nachfolger. In this publication three volumes are devoted to that noted material, the records by Veit Dietrich, Lauterbach, Cordatus, Schlaginhauf (Turbicida), and others being separately produced. How far the mixture of Latin and German represents Luther's actual and original utterance, I am unable to decide. As a rule, of course, my citations are presented in English.

In our endeavor to gain a true perspective of Luther and the classics, we must at once set aside the current conceptions and habits of our own day. Our first object must be to comprehend somewhat the great cultural movement known as Humanism, which in that very generation had begun to cross the Alps, and which had been for some time before largely in the keeping and nurture of Italian scholars, and had centered in Florence. Petrarch, Boccaccio, Valla, Poggio, Filelfo, Bruni, Politian, Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), Guarino, Marsilio Ficino, Pico de Mirandola, and others had been protagonists in this renaissance of the classics.[1] Through Reuchlin, Agricola, Muth (Mutianus),

1) See the works of Voigt, Burckhardt, Gregorovius, Symonds, Geiger, and others. The eminent historian Villari maintains a wise and critical reserve in dealing with these times. (Cf. E. G. Sihler, *Testimonium Animae*, 1908, chap. 2.)

and others Greek (taught in Italy by Gaza and Argyropulos; Byzantine exiles we may call them) was brought to Northern Europe during Luther's boyhood and early youth. Its study spread but slowly. About the year 1500, however, Desiderius Erasmus, of Rotterdam, then thirty-three or thirty-five years old, had attained a certain preeminence, which soon was acknowledged throughout Europe and even in Italy itself. Let us endeavor to see what the essence of that distinction really was. Primarily it was his rare command of Latin, both with voice and pen. Latin had been the language of schools and universities, outside of the Byzantine empire, virtually throughout medieval times. The central point, then, in the Renaissance was not to introduce Latin, but to replace the Latin of Scholasticism by that of Cicero, Seneca, Horace, and Vergil. We are so habituated in our own day to associate finished speech and a national literature with all the chief states of the world that we can hardly conceive the condition and status of European culture as it was in 1500. The only literary language everywhere current and recognized was Latin. "Good Letters (*bonae literae*) were Latin Letters. The belief seriously held by the leaders was that they would simply go on where Cicero, Vergil, Terence, Seneca had left off. This was the basic view in Paris, Oxford, London, Cambridge, no less than at the newer foundations, like those of Leipzig, Erfurt, and, soon, of Wittenberg. In Cologne alone, and at Louvain (Louven), where Dominicans and Franciscans outdid even the Sorbonne of Paris as champions of inherited Scholasticism, did this Humanism not make much headway. Erasmus, after sojourning much and moving about between Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Italy, England again, Louvain, finally settled at Basle, where Froben published his original works, as well as his stupendous series of patristic and classic editions. After the hard and fast definitions of Peter the Lombard, of Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and their successors, it was felt a glorious emancipation to appropriate the thought, the sentiment, and wisdom of the ancients, and to vie with them in their own fields both of ideas and expression. The *Adagia* of Erasmus (first

published at Paris, 1500) perhaps most completely permit us to-day to appreciate the Humanism of that time. *Formally* they were to furnish material from the classics to illustrate and embellish discourse in that purer and restored Latinity. All, or almost all, strove for this end.

A mere glance at the *Adagia*[2]) shows that Erasmus had made his excerpts from a very wide range of authors indeed. We are impressed by the range of Greek writers, many of whom Erasmus had to read in Ms. codices because they had not yet been printed. Greek citations are *always* followed by a Latin version. On the Greek side Erasmus used Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, Plato, Aristotle, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Lucian, Hesychius, Pollux, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and many others. He seems to have delved occasionally even into the Scholia of Homer. — The crude and mechanical juxtaposition of some utterance of Christ or of some passage of St. Paul close to some classicist verity is characteristic. The whole was intended as an "adiumentum politioris literaturae candidatis."

Luther's school-work at Magdeburg and Eisenach was largely concerned with the grammar of Donatus, and probably with some Latin fables composed after Aesop. He never mentions Phaedrus, but always Aesop.[3])

There is a reminiscence,[4]) uttered by him in 1537: On Fridays the so-called "slips of the wolves" were produced, on which certain monitors, called wolves (*lupi*), had noted which of the pupils had talked *German* in class during the week. Such scholars received the rod. On Thursday Donatus was reviewed, *i. e.*, they had to cite the exact place in Donatus where the form given by the schoolmaster was defined. — Luther keenly disliked Ferdinand of Austria. "Oh, he gets no *'felix'*[5]) in Donatus."[6])

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2) New York University Library possesses an edition by Froben (Basle, 1546) in folio, which I have used.

3) L. Roth, *Die mittelalterlichen Sammlungen lateinischer Tierfabeln.* Philologus I, 523 sqq.

4) *Table Talk*, Weimar ed., No. 3566 A. I discovered myself in this study that some curious details as to the *eagle* were really derived by Luther from Pliny, *N. Hist.* 10, 17, directly. Cf. Weimar ed., No. 2157.

5) a "good mark." 6) No. 3753, *fin.*

Of the Aesopian fables Luther entertained a very high opinion. What attracted him there was the didactic clearness in their moralizing purpose, palpable even to a very simple intelligence. In his mature period he took delight in quoting some, as once (in 1536)[7] of the wolf and the lamb, the wolf and the crane, Right and Might, *i. e.*, the lion's share in the joint hunting, the bear and the travelers, etc.

At the University of Erfurt Luther studied from 1501 onward, entering in his eighteenth year. In 1502, he received the elementary degree, his baccalaureate; in 1505, in his twenty-second year, he was made *Magister Artium*, these "arts" being the three of the *Trivium* (Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic) and the four of the *Quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Music). After these general, we may say cultured pursuits, there followed some definite professional study, Law, Theology, or Medicine. Luther had already bought a *Corpus Iuris* to begin his courses in Jurisprudence, when by that sudden resolution, so portentous for him and all the world, he entered the Augustinian monastery, July 17, 1505, before he had completed his twenty-second year. Later (1532) he spoke with respect[8] of the ancient Roman jurists, while he regarded the lawyers and the law-practise of his own day with deep distrust as a purely mercenary pursuit.

The most severe of his studies from 1502 to 1505 dealt with Aristotle and, as inextricably bound up with these pursuits, some measure of scholastic lore. Looking at the whole matter in a historical way, we cannot fairly separate Aristotle from the classics, we cannot separate him from Scholasticism, which Luther himself eventually destroyed by the Scriptural principle. There is a very positive interdependence here. *Albertus Magnus* at Cologne, and still more his famous disciple, *Thomas of Aquino* (1225—1274), both

7) No. 3490.

8) No. 1518. Elsewhere, No. 2470 A: "Ergo gentiles per legem suam Caesarem defendunt contra papam Christianorum, Scaevola, Ulpianus etc., qui ante Codicem fuerunt."

of the Dominican order, incorporated certain elements of Aristotelian metaphysics and all his dialectic works,[9]) a considerable portion of his *De Anima* and other doctrines, in their own presentation of Christian verity or philosophical theology (it matters little which of these appellations we choose).

In his own harvest-time Luther could become positively aroused when he recalled how much in his academic youth men knew of Aristotle and how little of the Bible. Aristotle, through the dogmatic system of Thomas and the Thomists, had become, in a way, a usurper; a relation or function of which, of course, the historical Aristotle was entirely innocent.

But let us go forward to some of the references I have gathered. "Dialectic[10]) is a contrivance applied to other branches of learning. I learned it thoroughly (*perdidici*) in my early manhood." "I had to learn the lore of the Sophists[11]) just as Daniel learned Chaldean, and Joseph, Egyptian."

We come upon the Ten Categories (*decem praedicamenta*) of Aristotle in a note of Luther on Matt. 3, 15 sqq.: *Substance, Quantity, Quality, Relation, Active, Passive, When, Where, Situation* (Veit Dietrich forgot *Condition, ἔχειν*).

Elsewhere (1531)[12]): "Aristotle's *Physical Theory, Metaphysics,* and *De Anima,* which are the best books, these, I know, I understand perfectly. His Metaphysics deal with *Being,* his doctrine of Nature with *Becoming:* in these two is contained all the achievement of Aristotle. Now Aristotle holds that God contemplates nothing beyond Himself. But this, removing Him from all concern for human misery,

9) The *Categories*, the *Analytica Priora* and *Posteriora*, *De Interpretatione*, the *Topica*, collectively designated as the *Organon*.

10) No. 143 (in 1531/32); Veit Dietrich's record.

11) Cf. F. W. Kampschulte, *Die Universitaet Erfurt.* Trier, 1858. Fr. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitaeten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart.* Leipzig, 1885, pp. 48 sqq.

12) Veit Dietrich's notes, No. 135.

sin, and sorrow, would, in effect, be a denial of His providence, nay, of His essence or being."

Another Aristotelian concept which we often meet with in Luther is the difference between the *potential* (*τὸ δυνάμει ὄν*) and the *actual* (*ἐνέργεια*). "When we were discussing [13]) whether God was really in each tiniest creature, grass, tree, etc., he answered: 'Yes, because God is excluded from no place, and hemmed in in none. He is everywhere and nowhere. But the question arises whether He is everywhere *potentially* only or *substantially*,' etc." Elsewhere (1532) [14]): "Between the ethics of Aristotle and of Ecclesiastes there is this difference, that Aristotle measures morality by reason's prescribing the best course, but Ecclesiastes by the heeding of the commandments of God." Again (1532) [15]): "When I was a young theologian and had to make nine corollaries out of a single question, I received [as my task] these two words: 'God created.' Then Thomas [Aquinas] gave me probably one hundred questions on top of all this. Furthermore, this is the way Thomas proceeds: First he receives propositions from Paul, Peter, John, Isaiah, etc.; then he concludes: 'But Aristotle says so and so,' and it is in accordance with Aristotle that he interprets the Scriptures."

Should infants be baptized that present some physical monstrosity? Luther thought not.[16]) "I consider the soul of such a one merely as vegetative life." "Our Righteousness [17]) is in the category of Relation." The four principles of Aristotle also were taken over by Luther,[18]) *viz.*, the *causa materialis, formalis, efficiens,* and *finalis.* Thus (in No. 2402 A), in urging that there is no merit in sinful man (1532): "God is the *causa efficiens* of merit." At one time, jesting about the failure of Mrs. Luther's home-brewing

13) No. 240. 14) No. 168. 15) No. 280.

16) No. 323. Anima *vegetativa* or *nutritiva* is Aristotle's *φυτικόν* or *θρεπτικόν*.

17) No. 1710.

18) Aristotle, *Physica* 2, 7: *αἱ αἰτίαι τέτταρες, ἡ ὕλη, τὸ εἶδος, τὸ κίνησαν, τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα.* (Cf. Luther's Works, *Table Talk*, Weimar ed., No. 3124, on Faith.)

(1532, No. 2757 A): "I beg to Goodness for the beer's *causa materialis, formalis, efficiens,* and *finalis,* or, if it is still to go through its brewing, that at least the tenth effort might be a success." Another Aristotelian distinction which had become current was that of the *contemplative* [19]) (or academic) and the *active* or practical *life.* (No. 3117.)

Another time Luther discussed political types and typical mutations, as, the change from democracy to ochlocracy, the characteristic features of oligarchy, and of genuine aristocracy.[20]) He rejected Aristotle's definition of the soul. — When he came to read Cicero's writings more freely (it seems this was in his evangelical period), he preferred them to Aristotle. I need not say that the Renaissance took both authors more seriously than we now do, endowing them, as a rule, with a doctrinal authority, which we now, after centuries of historical and critical study, quite properly withhold from them. But at that time "philosophy" meant classical philosophy. For Cicero, Luther then (in 1538) entertained an almost affectionate [21]) regard.

In a reminiscence of his Erfurt period; a reminiscence recorded in August, 1532, he said: [22]) "While I was a papist, I was ashamed to name Christ; I thought: Jesus is a womanish name. But Aristotle and Bonaventura, *these* were great in my estimation."

It is clear that the forms of Aristotelian dialectic remained deeply ingrained in his mental habits. In No. 499

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19) Vita "speculativa." This is Aristotle's *θεωρητικὸς βίος, Ethica Nicom.* I, 3.

20) Cordatus, who recorded it, wrote: "In 5 *Ethicorum.*" It should be *Ethica Nicom.* 8, 12.

21) No. 3904: "Es ist ein teurer Mann gewest, qui multa legit et iudicavit et deinde etiam dicere potuit; hat sein Ding mit Ernst geschrieben, non ita lusit et graecissavit ut Aristoteles et Plato."

22) No. 1746. Bonaventura, John of Fidenza (1221—1274), one of the scholastic leaders of the Middle Ages, was the protagonist among the Franciscans, and is known in the Roman Catholic tradition as "Doctor Seraphicus."

(spring of 1533) he presents *three syllogisms* concerning Faith, to which he appends rejoinders of his own.

He placed Melanchthon very high, indeed, in this faculty of logical procedure and orderliness.[23])

"In my day," he said (No. 2191, in 1531), "there was no training in dialectic in the schools at all. The only thing they taught, and this in mean language, were *Universals* and *Categories,* and though they had awful contentions about these, still they understood not how to make any practical application of the same."

But we must move forward. — *Rhetoric* in that age was altogether based on Quintilian. Whenever, in preaching or other discourses, Luther referred to the main point or chief question or topic, he used the term *status.*[24]) Amplification, and the non-dogmatical bringing home of a truth he often designates as "Rhetoric." On the Festival of the Annunciation of Mary one should preach nothing but Rhetoric, *i. e.,* pure Joy, no theoretical disputation. (No. 494.) "Dialectic teaches, Rhetoric appeals to the emotions." (No. 2199 A.) Other terms of ancient rhetoric used by him are *catachresis,* using a term improperly (Nos. 2095, 2204); *tapinosis,* humble treatment, (No. 1671); *mycterismus,* sarcasm, ridicule (cf. Quintil. 8, 6, 59; in No. 2662); *pathos,* emotion (No. 2696: that the prophets outdo all the emotional effects of Demosthenes and Cicero; February, 1533); *thesis* and *hypothesis* (No. 3032 A). As a monk, he said,[25]) he had an itch for *allegory:* "omnia allegorisabam" (No. 335). "Satan has more eloquent rhetoric than even Cicero" (No. 3092). The eloquence of women as compared with that of Cicero (No. 1054).

As to the following citations in general, one cannot positively state how far they meant general reading. On the

23) Philippus fecit, quod nullus fecit in mille annis in dialectica. Dialectica hab' ich gewusst, aber Philippus hat mich's lernen applizieren ad rem.

24) *E. g.,* No. 1685, on status (*στάσις*). Cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* III, 6. Cf. Nos. 744. 2459 b.

25) Perhaps then under the influence of Bonaventura.

one hand, Erasmus's *Adagia* were furnished with admirable indices, so that one could readily find some illustrative apopthegm, epigram, or sentence. On the other hand, we know that Luther had a certain familiarity with certain authors, such as Vergil. And furthermore we must not forget that there were no national or vernacular classics. A humanist in the sense of that time Luther never was. Without knowing it, he became, in a way, the first of German classics, alongside of whose German Bible and world-stirring and enduring German tracts and treatises the most graceful Latinity of Erasmus and of Melanchthon himself impresses us as exotic, or as wax-flowers preserved under a frame of glass.

Nothing in Latin was difficult to a Latinist such as Luther was. As late as 1537, he bought a copy of Lucan, of whom he said very aptly: "I cannot make out whether he is a poet or a historian" (No. 3637). As we are on this general theme, and before we take up the secular authors in some detail of sequence, we must not leave unrecorded here the fact that it was Jerome's Latin Bible through which Luther became the restorer of the Gospel of Christ and the emancipator of many nations. Always, we have reason to believe, the Latin Bible was quoted by him from memory, sometimes with slight variation of Jerome's exact version. I found this so on referring to the text of Jerome many scores of times, as exhibited in an approved edition: Rome, 1861. This fact alone, and the current habit and necessity of Latin quotation, so determined, together with the mass of academic and technical language in Latin terms, — all this makes it more than likely that his ordinary conversation was not merely bilingual, but that in all matters of a theoretical or controversial nature Latin predominated over the German.

As to classical culture in general, Luther held that it was good, too, for a theologian; that a man so trained was more efficient than a man without this training. "One knife cuts better than another; therefore, also, a man who knows the languages, and has some attainments in the liberal arts, can speak and teach better and more distinctly." (1533;

No. 439.) He was, as I said, no humanist. — Melanchthon,[26] in certain aspects of his faculties and ideals, was a veritable junior Erasmus, *i. e.*, as a classical scholar, a brilliant humanist indeed; while for Luther the tremendous spiritual import of the Bible dwarfed the secular letters, whether these were considered as to formal grace or as to their themes.[27] As for reading, he held (January, 1533) that "a student who would not waste his efforts ought to choose some good author, and such a one he should read and reread, to have him changed into his own flesh and blood" (No. 2894 A). "Baptista Mantuanus [an Italian imitator of Latin verse] was the first poet I read; later on I read the *Heroides* of Ovid; afterward I stumbled on Vergil" (incidi in Virgilium, No. 256). "Besides these [*i. e.*, at Erfurt] I read nothing in the poets." He said he was taken up with scholastic theology [*i. e.*, Aristotle]. With Vergil, indeed, he seems to have acquired an easy familiarity, so that a turn of speech derived from that Roman national poet would come to hand quite readily. He discusses the etymology of many proper nouns, among them that of Dido (No. 262). He utters an invective against Erasmus by adapting lines from Vergil's *Bucolics* (No. 446):

Qui Satanam non odit, amet tua carmina, Erasme,
Atque idem iungat Furias et mulgeat Orcum.
(Who does not hate the devil, let him love your verse, Erasmus,
And likewise yoke the Furies, and milk the Sire of Darkness.)

The ancient empires all had their time and their end, even proud Rome, in spite of the famous prophecy in Vergil:

Imperium sine fine dedi.

Descanting on idealization, Judith being under discussion, Luther said (No. 697): "Just as Vergil, therefore, drew his Aeneas with enlargements (*amplificationibus*), greater than his actual stature, so also the author of the book of Judith drew her as a woman endowed with loyalty and all the virtues."

26) Cf. many of his elegant Latin orations and introductory lectures in *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. XI.

27) Cf. No. 1666.

The grand simplicity of St. John was displeasing to Erasmus; he will think: "His style is not like that of Homer or Vergil or my own" (No. 699).

There were at Wittenberg two noted jurists and men of affairs: one of these, Dr. Schurff, Luther compared with Ovid, the other, Dr. Brueck (Pontamus), with Vergil (No. 1421), implying, perhaps, that the first named had more grace and the other more dignity.

He praises the lot of the agriculturist, citing "Vergilius in Bucolicis" (from memory, it is really from the Georgica 2, 485):

O fortunatos nimium, si tua bona norint,
Agricolas!
(Oh, all too happy, if only they knew their blessings, the farmers!)

Several times (unless the recording guests made a slip) he cites as from Horace what really was a reminiscence from Vergil, as in No. 3137:

Nescia mens hominum sortis ignara futuri.

The words are actually from Vergil (*Aen.* 10, 501):

Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae.

("Mens, mind, not knowing fate and future lot.") Aptly he cites (No. 3149 A):

Tendimus in Latium. (Our goal is Latium.)

Speaking of sermons: To preach long is no art, but to preach correctly and efficiently, "hoc opus, hic labor est" ("this is an achievement, this is toil"; Vergil, *Aen.* 6, 129). Warmly he appreciates the dramatic power exhibited by Vergil in *Aen.* IV (the Dido-book). He compares Ovid with Vergil: the former is great in "sententiae" (epigrammatic, pithy truths). Referring to a certain Catianus, who for a huge sum of money had undertaken to play the traitor in the interest of the Turks, in 1538 (No. 3753) — "and he said, with a sigh:

Auri sacra fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?"

From memory again; really:

. . . quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?

("What driveth not the hearts of men to do, accursed greed of gold?" Vergil, *Aen.* 3, 57.) A term in Vergil (*Aen.* 7, 741) for German javelins (No. 3752).

He seems to have read in Cicero's *De Oratore,* for he quotes from memory Cicero's dictum: "There is no better way to impress others than when you have first made an impression on yourself" (No. 1319).[28]

For the *reductio per impossibile* (No. 3499) he quotes an incident from Cicero's defense of Milo. Then he goes on to cite the case of the two sons found sleeping in the chamber of their own father done to death in that very night. The youths were charged with patricide, but acquitted. It was an incident used by Cicero *Pro Roscio Amerino* (64). Ovid he particularly liked for the *sententiae* found in his works. "While we dislike what is with us, we love what is away. Of this also says Ovid:[29]

Quod licet, ingratum est; quod non licet, acrius urit.

(*Amores* II, 19, 3: "What is permitted we like not; what is not permitted troubles us more passionately.") And a similar sentiment[30] from Ovid, *De Art. Am.* (1, 349): "Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris" ("More bounteous ever is the crop on other people's fields"), or again[31] from Ovid (*Am.* 3, 4, 17):

Nitimur in vetitum, semper cupimusque negata.

("We strive against forbidden things, and set our heart on that which is denied.") Elsewhere he says (No. 3616): "Ovid ist ein feiner Poet gewesen, qui excedit omnes alios sententiis; er kann die schoensten sententias in einem Verschen bringen: 'Nox et amor vinumque nihil moderabile suadent.' (*Am.* 1, 6, 59.)

Die Nacht, die Liebe, dazu der Wein
Zu nichts Gutes Ratgeber seyn.

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28) Probably what he recalled of Cicero, *De Oratore* (2, 189): "Nisi omnes ii motus, quos orator adhibere volet iudici, *in ipso* oratore impressi esse atque inusti videbuntur."

29) Nos. 814 and 1542.

30) No. 3463, d.

31) No. 3468; a favorite citation of the present writer's father.

With *Terence* Luther was particularly well acquainted. Terence, he said (Menander really), knew the life of men, and how people fared, while the monks lived in an artificial seclusion, like pug-dogs resting on upholstered couches (No. 285).

On one occasion (March 2, 1533) he spoke with warm appreciation of the *Andria* of Terence and the various characters and their delineation: Pamphilus, the young lover, the slaves, the father (Simo), etc. Still his concern does not touch anything higher than this elementary social and human range (No. 467). "Comedies" (he meant primarily Terence) "ought to be produced by boys, first, that they may have training in the Latin tongue; furthermore, mankind is educated by characters of fiction, and each one is reminded of his own duty, in addition to this the wiles of evil women are laid bare. . . . And if the comedies were not to be produced by a Christian on account of certain unclean elements, then not even the Bible ought to be read. But he who takes offense at such things takes offense when no one offers it." (No. 3346.)

Greek Luther does not seem to have touched at Erfurt. His Aristotelian studies were all accomplished through Latin translations. It was primarily his study of the Greek Testament which made him take up Greek with serious purpose. Melanchthon, as we know, was one of the most finished Grecians of Europe. In questions of technical scholarship in this field Luther always assumed a demeanor of extreme modesty, *e. g.* (No. 1040, 1530—1535): "I know neither Greek nor Hebrew, but still I will hold my own with a Hebraist or Hellenist. The languages in themselves do not constitute a theologian." "The New Testament, though it is written in Greek, still is full of Hebraisms and Hebrew turns of speech." His references to Greek, then, are, in the main, to the Greek Testament. In time he adopted single Greek terms, introducing them perhaps in academic work, and so even in his *Table Talk*, such as *ἐπιείκεια*, comity, gentleness (Nos. 320, 1474, 1900), bearing with peculiar manners of some people (*τροποφόρος*, No. 815), *εὐδοκίαν*, Luke

2, 14 (No. 3654 b). "There are found a goodly number of married folk who have no affection for each other" (*ἄστοργοι*, coniuges, 2350 B). "Those words of Peter are not only *διδακτικά*, also *prophetica*." (1 Pet. 5, 3; No. 3863.)

Often Luther compared Erasmus with Lucian. — I have found one of Menander's monostichs (single lines), which Lauterbach (No. 3611) cites as copied by Luther himself. It is No. 168 in the collection of Meineke (1841).

Εἷς ἐστὶ δοῦλος οἰκίας, ὁ δεσπότης. "*One* slave the household has, its *master* is the man." Which Luther's muse elaborated in the subjoined true-grained fashion.

Der Herr muss selber sein der Knecht,
Wil er's im Hause finden recht.
Die fraw muss selber sein die maght,
Wil sie schaffen im hause racht.
Dass gesinde nimmer mehr bedenckt,
Wass nutz und schaden im hause brengt;
Es ist ihnen nichts gelegen dran,
Weil sie es nicht fur eigen han.
Sie seynd die gest und fremde im hauss.
Wess eygen ist, der gehe nicht heraus.

Of course, Luther was not Melanchthon. We cannot well take leave of Wittenberg as it then was without directing a parting glance in this connection at that eminent classicist, whose Greek attainments, no doubt, were to supplement the equipment of the spiritual leader of Wittenberg. Vol. XI of the *Corpus Reformatorum* contains many of the Latin orations delivered by him as professor of the Humanities in Wittenberg. Thus his inaugural in that university, August 29, 1518, when he was but twenty-one years old, a lecture cast in Latin of exquisite purity and idiomatic elegance. Its theme was: "De Corrigendis Adolescentium Studiis." He recommends with enthusiastic fervor "bonas literas et renascentes musas." In part his address is a polemic against the scholastics. Their domination, we clearly see, was jeopardized by Humanism. He deplores the awful Latin in which Aristotle had been studied. He refers to Thomas (of Aquino), to Duns Scotus, to Seraphicus (Bonaventura). For the last

three hundred years Scholasticism had absorbed and monopolized all academic work. It had granted no proper place to Greek, to mathematics. Aristotle should indeed be studied, but in his original Greek garb, historically and philologically purged of scholastic matter. Similarly Quintilian was to be studied and the cyclopaedic work of the elder Pliny, Plato's *Laws,* Aristotle's *Ethics,* Homer, Vergil, Horace, Ancient History. Christ Himself was to be studied from the sources. The Bible, in fact, without "frigidae glossulae" was to be studied in the original tongues. Human traditions were to give place to evangelical truth. If only the students were to devote the remnants of their time (*subsicivas aliquot horas*) to Greek. He, Melanchthon, would exert himself with personal zeal and toil that their labors should prove successful. The two first courses Melanchthon announced were these: one on Homer, one on St. Paul's Epistle to Titus.

The great thing, we may conclude, was to supplant Scholasticism with what we now call *source-work,* whether in the Bible itself or in secular learning and letters.

When England Almost Became Lutheran.

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A Lutheran editor fifty years ago interpreted as follows the sentiment which then prevailed in our country over against Lutheranism: "Lutheranism is a strange and exotic plant in the English tongue. It may prosper well enough in the German or Scandinavian languages, but as for English, there is no possible hope for your success in trying to effect a settlement for your system here. Your Lutheranism is altogether too much of a novelty among us, without a history and home in the English tongue."

While this impression of Lutheranism has not quite disappeared from contemporary Reformed literature, the time is now past that we must feel under any obligations to argue the propriety of establishing our Church in a country pre-

dominantly English in speech. Statistics show that our Church not only has held its own in the United States, but has grown at a more rapid pace than any other denomination, not excluding the Roman Catholic. It is, moreover, firmly established in the English tongue. Yet there are those even among us who are unaware of the curious fact that, far from being an element foreign to English history, Lutheranism at the time of the Reformation was a great power in the English language, and that it existed in England during almost a hundred years as an acknowledged force. Indeed, it was from Luther and colaborers that the clear Gospel-light first shone into the medieval darkness which enveloped Great Britain in that momentous third decade of the sixteenth century.

The indebtedness of England to Luther and his fellow-Reformers, as distinguished from the Swiss Reformers, Calvin and Zwingli, is not a matter which has only been recognized in recent years. In the seventeenth century Nicolas Lithenius, Swedish pastor of a Lutheran congregation in London, wrote a book in which he demonstrates "that the English Reformation was not inaugurated by disciples of Zwingli and Calvin, but by those of Luther, so that Luther, the great instrument of God in reforming the British Church, opened the way to England and Scotland to extricate themselves from papal servitude."

These words are in consonance with the historical records. It cannot be doubted that for a long time the adherents of evangelical truth in England were no other than Lutherans, who were not only indebted for the possession of the Gospel-light to Luther and his friends, but who, moreover, deliberately rejected the doctrines of Zwingli, and held fast to that of the Lutheran Church. The Lutheran doctrine, far from being the last which made its appearance in the English tongue, *was the first* to replace the superstitions of popery, and its confessors in England were among the very first and noblest martyrs that glorified God in the age of the Reformation.

Since the fourteenth century, when Wyclif, a teacher in

Oxford University, had testified against a number of Roman abuses, and gave the people a translation of the Bible, there had always been adherents of a purer faith diffused through the British Isles. They did not form a compact organization, nor did they always make a profession of their belief in opposition to the ruling darkness. Yet their influence appeared sufficiently menacing to the Roman Church that Richard II and Henry IV, under priestly influence, instituted bloody persecutions against the Lollards, as the adherents of Wyclif were commonly called. As soon as the mighty writings of Luther began to thunder against the Romish corruptions, not only the rumor of the events enacted on the Continent reached England, and cheered many a groaning heart, but these writings themselves were brought over, in many cases translated into English, and always read with the greatest eagerness. Bishop Burnet says in his famous *History of the Reformation:* "As these things [the Reformation] did spread much in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, so their books came over into England, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on . . . by the opinions of the Lollards, between which and the doctrines of the Reformers there was great affinity. Many of them were translated into the English tongue, and were much read and applauded. This quickened the proceedings against the Lollards, and the inquiry against them became so severe that great numbers were brought into the toils of the bishops. If a man had spoken but a light word against the Roman Church, he was seized by the bishop's officers; and if they taught the children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed in the common tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the stake" (to be burned alive), "as it did six men and a woman at Coventry April 4, 1519. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, caused several others to be burned."

In spite of these desperate measures the writings of Luther, and such parts of the Bible as had been newly rendered into English, were read with avidity. There was a universal rush to the fountain of living waters, the moment

it was unsealed. Every one that could, purchased the Book, and if he was unable to read himself, he got his neighbor to read it to him. Numbers might be seen flocking to the lower end of the church, and forming a little congregation round the "Scripture-reader." Many persons far advanced in life actually learned to read for the purpose of searching the Oracles of God. Such was the general excitement that at last the tavern and the alehouse often became the scenes of religious discussion. The king found it necessary to discourage, by a proclamation, these public debates.

Nor did the movement affect only the lower classes. In 1519, Erasmus wrote to Luther that "he [Luther] had friends in England who thought very highly of his writings, and those even men of high rank." The Gospel produced a great agitation at Cambridge University. Here it was that Thomas Bilney, who has been called the father of the English Reformation, proclaimed the truth which he had found in the New Testament and the writings of Luther. His influence was very extensive through the labors of those who learned the truth from him. Especially the conversion of George Stafford, a man of deep learning and holy life, as well as that of his friends, Thomas Arthur, Thistle, Fooke, Loude, Warner, and others, — all college men, — spread alarm among the adherents of the Romish superstition. But above them all rose Hugh Latimer, who had formerly conducted violent debates with the adherents of the true doctrine, and who had been, to use his own words, "as obstinate a papist as any in England." Through Bilney's service he became a diligent seeker after the truth, and soon worked jointly with his friend in the conversion of the multitudes. Latimer was later made bishop, and was, like his friends Cranmer and Fox, a decided Lutheran until near the close of his life. There was at Cambridge a house called the White House, so situated as to permit the timid members of the various colleges to enter at the rear without being noticed. Here these persons used to assemble who desired to read the Bible and the works of the German Reformers. The priests called this house "Germany," and whenever a group of university

men were seen walking in that direction, the cry was heard, "There are the Germans going to Germany!" "We are not Germans," was the reply, "neither are we *Romans!*" At last as many as seven colleges were pervaded with the leaven of the truth: Pembroke, St. John's, Queen's, King's, Cajus, Bennet's, and Peterhouse. The Gospel was also proclaimed in the church of St. Augustine, in St. Mary's, in the chapel of the university, and in sundry other places. Thus a great awakening resulted through the service of Bilney, and that it took place in the Lutheran spirit is evinced by the circumstance that the converted persons read and spread the writings of Luther, and were publicly known and designated as the followers and disciples of Luther. When Bilney, at the outbreak of a violent persecution, was ordered to London, he received an injunction not to preach *Luther's doctrines.* "I will not preach Luther's doctrines, if there are any peculiar to him," he said, "but I can and must preach the doctrine of Jesus Christ, although Luther should preach it, too."

A similar movement was noted at the other great university, Oxford. In the year 1526, says Mr. Wood in his *History of the Oxford Academy,* "the followers of Luther held private meetings at Oxford, and confessed the truth with such constancy that they preferred to be imprisoned all their lifetime, or even be reduced to ashes together with their books, rather than revoke the received doctrine." In 1527, mention is again made of a society of Lutherans in connection with Corpus Christi College at Oxford.

Burnet points out the fact that *until the year 1531* "there was no dispute [in England] about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament; for the writings of Zwingli came later into England; and *hitherto they had only seen Luther's works, and those written by his followers.*" And yet the Reformation had gained so much ground at that time that the Romish party was filled with alarm and despair. Thomas More, the famous champion of Romish abuses in England, wrote about this time to another great advocate of the Roman system, Cochlaeus: "Germany now daily bringeth forth monsters more deadly than Africa was wont to do;

but alas, she is not alone. Numbers of Englishmen who would not a few years ago even hear of Luther's name mentioned are now publishing his praises. England now is like the sea which swells and heaves before a great storm, without any wind stirring it."

Where the blind papist could not see the wind stirring England, others recognized the Spirit of the Lord blowing into the valley filled with bones, and waking them to the Gospel light and life. In 1526, Tyndale completed his version of the New Testament. This splendid translation is the basis of our English Bible to-day, about 90 per cent. of Tyndale's version being maintained in the so-called Authorized Version of 1611, which is the standard of English speech the world over. It is now almost certain that Tyndale labored on this translation for a time under the direct guidance of Luther. Certainly he made use of Luther's New Testament. His introduction to the Epistle to the Romans is almost literally translated from Luther. Cochlaeus writes: "Two English apostates [Tyndale and Frith] who had been somewhile at Wittenberg, were in hopes that all the people of England would shortly become Lutherans, with or without the king's consent, through the instrumentality of Luther's New Testament, which they translated into English." King Henry likewise ascribes Tyndale's version to "Luther's devices," and the Bishop of London declared that "maintainers of Luther's sect" had "prepared the translation." At all events, Luther and his friends were fully advised of this translation of the New Testament, for in the diary of Spalatin this passage occurs: "Bushe told us that six thousand copies of the New Testament in the English language had been printed at Worms, and that this translation had been made by an Englishman, sojourning there with two other natives of Britain, who was skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, and Dutch."

Not the persecution of its enemies, but the entanglement of its friends with British politics brought the Lutheran movement in England to a stop, so far as its leadership in English Protestantism was concerned. True, the most

powerful figure in English life of that period, Bishop Cranmer, was at heart and by association with Lutheran reformers on the Continent more a Lutheran than anything else. His personal relations to the German Reformers, however, were not so much the outcome of spiritual as of political associations. Cranmer was at this most critical juncture of English history chief adviser to King Henry VIII, a self-willed, passionate, and tyrannical monarch, who appears to have placed everything in a subordinate position to the advancement of his power, pleasure, and profit. Also, King Henry was a bigoted papist. From the time he first heard of Luther, his indignation broke forth. No sooner did the decree of the Diet of Worms, pronouncing the imperial ban upon Luther, reach England, than he gave orders that the pope's bull against the Reformer's writings should be carried into execution. On the 12th of May, 1521, Thomas Wolsey, Chancellor of England and Cardinal, repaired in solemn procession to St. Paul's Church. The priesthood and many members of the nobility accompanied him, the ambassadors of the pope joined the cavalcade, and the several parties that composed it were carrying the writings of the poor monk of Wittenberg. On reaching the church, Wolsey deposited his cardinal's hat upon the altar, and the Bishop of Rochester preached a sermon against Luther's heresy. After this the attendants brought forward the writings of Luther, which were then publicly burned. Such was the first public announcement of the Reformation to the people of England.

King Henry did not rest satisfied with this triumph. He conceived that the moment had arrived for an exhibition of his learning. He gave to the world his "Defense of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther, by the most Invincible King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, Henry, the Eighth of that name." In his treatment of the Reformer, Henry was not sparing of hard epithets, styling his adversary successively an infernal wolf, a venomous serpent, and a limb of the devil. The public of the day set no bounds to the praises of this book. "The most learned work that ever the sun saw," is the expression of one. "It

can only be compared to the works of Saint Augustine," said others. The pope declared that the king's book could not be composed but by the aid of the Holy Spirit, and conferred upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith" — still borne by the sovereigns of England!

Luther read Henry's book with a smile, mingled with impatience and indignation. The misstatements and insults it contained, above all the air of pity and contempt for the Reformer which the author affected, irritated Luther to the highest degree. A furious lion, he turned upon his pursuers, and set himself determinedly to crush his enemies. His friends tried in vain to appease him. "I won't be gentle to the king of England," said he, and, in truth, he wasn't. In his reply, Luther reproaches Henry with having supported his statements merely by decrees and doctrines of men, and then proceeds in detail to refute the king's book, exposing his arguments, one after the other, with remarkable clearness, energy, and knowledge of the Scriptures and of church history, but also with a boldness, contempt, and violence which need not surprise us. "It must still come to pass," he exclaims in conclusion, "that popes, bishops, priests, monks, princes, devils, death, sin, — and all that is not Jesus Christ or in Jesus Christ, — must fall and perish before the power of the Gospel which I, Martin Luther, have preached."

Thus spake an unfriended monk to one of the greatest monarchs of his age. In reply, King Henry wrote to the Dukes of Saxony, beseeching them "by all that is most sacred promptly to extinguish the cursed sect of Luther. If this heretical doctrine lasts, shed blood without hesitation, in order that this abominable sect may disappear from under the heavens." As for his own kingdom, Henry was determined to destroy every vestige of the hated heresy. During the following ten years he issued a number of very drastic decrees against every form of departure from the Roman faith. Owners of Lutheran books were required to give them up to be burned. Among the books specified in the royal orders as contrary to the true religion were Tyndale's New Testament, Luther's Revelation of Antichrist, his explanation

of the Lord's Prayer, his commentary on Galatians, etc. The adherents of the Reformer were called "Luther's and Tyndale's sect." In spite of these prohibitions a vast number of the proscribed books were imported into England, among them many Tyndale Bibles, printed in Germany and the Netherlands because of this persecution. Thomas Bilney, the father of English Lutheranism, was burned at the stake 1530. Tyndale's companion, John Frith, an Oxford scholar, suffered martyrdom at Smithfield, London, 1533, and three years later Tyndale was burned at Louvain. A number of other noble confessors suffered martyrdom in England at this time. Among the monsters which raged against the truth, the names of Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas More have become execrable above others. Bishop Stockesly of London boasted on his deathbed that he had delivered fifty heretics to the executioner. Simply the reading of Tyndale's Bible was sufficient cause for imprisonment, and refusal to recant the doctrines of Luther was deemed a crime worthy of death. The fanatical Bishop of Lincoln even caused an old man to be burned who was guilty only of reading the Bible on private walks through woods and meadows.

Henry VIII, as we have noted, was under the complete control of the priesthood, and had written his book against Luther in a fit of sincere horror of the German Reformer's teachings. As late as 1525 he made a treaty with France for the suppression of the Turk and "of the Lutheran sect, hardly less dangerous than the Turk." However, his friendship for the pope experienced a gradual cooling-off. The causes that led to his complete estrangement from the Roman Church were complex. He contemplated the temporal advantages which might accrue to him if he should cut loose the Church of England from the rule of Rome, and make himself head and master. He thus came to seek the friendship of the German princes, secretly at first, although he had not yet renounced his Romish belief, nor suffered any of the worst Roman abuses to be abolished in his country. But it was especially his second matrimonial venture, his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and marriage with Anne

Boleyn, which brought about his final break with the pope. Enamored with Anne Boleyn, then a lady at his court, he demanded from Pope Clement VII an annulment of his marriage with Catherine. The pope, however, was not willing to incur the enmity of Charles V, the mighty emperor of Germany, who was a nephew of Catherine. When the pope began to pursue a policy of procrastination, in the hope that the royal lover's ardor for Anne Boleyn would be worn out by waiting, Henry suddenly dismissed his chancellor, Wolsey, whom he suspected of managing the affair with greater loyalty to the pope than to his master. Wolsey died broken-hearted. It was at this time that Thomas Cranmer, a young theologian, who had warmly supported King Henry's contention that his marriage to Catherine should be annulled, was made the trusted advisor of the king. Cranmer was sent to the Continent with the royal commission to gain approbation of various universities of the Continent for this marriage, and also to negotiate for the political support of the Protestant princes. The Lutheran princes, however, insisted that agreement in doctrine must be established before they would enter an alliance with him. Burnet remarks on this point: "It cannot be denied that the Protestants *proved their sincerity in this matter, such as became men of conscience, who were actuated by true principles, and not by maxims of policy.* For if these," that is, considerations of political advantage, "had governed them, they would have shown themselves more compliant with so great a prince, who was then alienated from the pope and on very ill terms with the emperor." Cranmer then invited expression of opinion from the Wittenberg theologians. Luther openly proclaimed it as his opinion that the *separation* would be a greater enormity than the *marriage* of Henry and Catherine had been (Catherine was his brother's widow). Such appears to have been the prevalent view in Germany. It was during this residence in Germany that Cranmer became acquainted with the celebrated Osiander, then pastor at Nuremberg, and having formed an attachment to the niece of his friend, was united to her early in the following year. It is not generally known

that the greatest figure in the history of the Reformation of England, Thomas Cranmer, married a Lutheran girl.

But the royal will was not to be thwarted by the scruples of theologians. The alliance with Catherine was declared null and void, and the nuptials with Anne Boleyn were celebrated. Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry assumed the title of Protector and Head of the Church of England. When he refused to obey a summons of the pope to appear in Rome, the great papal curse was launched against him. This was the end of spiritual relations between Henry and the pope and *the beginning of the Anglican Reformation.* Henry declared himself the head of the Anglican Church. He would be king and pope in one. Yet he was by no means won over to the doctrinal position of the Reformers. The thought that it might be said that he had become an adherent to the faith which he had condemned as hell-broth and Satanic virus in his book against Luther was unbearable to him. His plan included no Reformation of church doctrine. The greater abuses, indeed, were to be ameliorated, above all, the authority of the pope was to be broken, but the doctrinal position of the Anglican Church was not to be affected by this change in spiritual overlords. Once more it was thought that the opportunity was come to strike a political bargain with the Lutheran princes of Germany. And again the Lutheran nobility stood firm. In 1532, Cranmer delivered letters from the king to the Elector John and Duke Philip of Lueneberg. At Nuremberg he had a private interview with the crown prince of Saxony in the presence of Spalatin. On a subsequent occasion he is even said to have promised the assistance of King Henry in case the Lutheran princes should become inveigled into war with the emperor. But those splendid men could not be bought by the promise even of such emoluments of power to their cause. Prince John Frederick replied in his own handwriting that "agreement as to the Articles of Faith must first be reached between the King and the Evangelicals (*i. e.,* Lutherans); they and their allies *would not turn aside from the Augsburg Confession.*" (Related by Seckendorf.)

In the year 1535, Dr. Robert Barnes was sent by King Henry to Wittenberg to prepare the way for new negotiations. There was some hope then, it seemed, that Melanchthon would be invited to England to introduce evangelical reforms. Luther wrote at this time: "Who knows what God intends to do? His wisdom is greater than ours." The Elector of Saxony wrote that he was willing to enter into negotiations looking to an alliance for mutual defense, but added: "Never shall we cast away the right and pure doctrine of the Gospel which we . . . confessed before the emperor in the Augsburg convention." And having exhorted the king to carry through a reform of popish abuses, he again says: "For our own part, *we shall, through the help of God, never cast away the doctrine which we confess.*"

Indeed, matters had at this time taken a turn in England which led many to hope that king and people might be gained over for the evangelical truth. The movement against the various superstitious practises of popery was becoming more pronounced, and the hopes of German Protestants were greatly animated. An attempt was made to gain a better understanding with the English divines. Myconius, a Lutheran clergyman, and Burckhardt, vice-chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, brought a letter from Melanchthon to the king, expressing the joy which had been kindled in the hearts of all good men by His Majesty's alacrity in the work of Reformation. These Germans were, unhappily, doomed to bitter disappointment. The Romish party in English politics prevented a discussion of the Mass and of celibacy. In spite of Cranmer's efforts no opportunity was given the German ambassadors to state their views of those principles on which alone a real Reformation of the Church could be brought about. Only those points of doctrine which the Church of England had already adopted from the Augsburg Confession were reaffirmed, and this only after much wearisome discussion (by writing) back and forth. It appears that the German ambassadors received scurvy treatment in other ways. Cranmer complains that "they be very ill lodged, for besides a multitude of rats daily and nightly running

in their chambers, the kitchen standeth directly against their parlour, and by reason thereof the house savoreth so ill that it offendeth all men that come into it." We are not surprised to read that the Lutheran visitors were all in haste to take their leave. This was in 1536.

The German Reformers were finally disillusionized by the laws which Henry VIII promulgated in 1539 for the suppression of the evangelical faith in his dominion. These laws, known as the Bloody Statutes, were enacted in spite of the vigorous opposition of Cranmer, whose eloquence and learning on this occasion extorted admiration even from his enemies. The king himself was struck by the force of Cranmer's arguments, but he had gone so far that there was now no drawing back. The king felt that his honor as "Defender of the Catholic Faith" and his very throne were endangered, if the country should become divided in its religious opinion. The Six Articles were designed to preserve the unity of faith in England. They maintained the Roman doctrine of the change of the elements into the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, forbade the marriage of the clergy, and insisted on auricular confession to the priest. The penalties inflicted upon transgressors of these regulations were horrible. They condemned to *death by fire* all who should speak, preach, and write against the Roman doctrine in these three points!

Nothing could exceed the exasperation and disappointment produced among the German Reformers by the publication of this sanguinary and tyrannical law. The truth was courteously, but very plainly told by Melanchthon in an epistle addressed to Henry himself. The indignation of Luther was expressed in less measured language. "I am rejoiced," he said in a letter to the Elector of Saxony, "that the king has at last thrown off the mask. He demanded to be chosen as head and defender of the Gospel in Germany. Away with such a head! His power and his wealth have so inflated him that he would be adored as a divinity. His craft is such as might well qualify him for the popedom itself."

At this point we may suitably terminate our study of

that strange and little known period of Reformation history, when England almost became Lutheran. Not that the Lutheran influence came to an end when the negotiations with the Lutheran princes fell through. Nor did the persecution which followed the publication of the Six Articles crush out the Evangelical Lutheran principle, or remove it as an active force from English life. As late as 1548, Cranmer translated a catechism written by Justus Jonas, the friend of Luther; and the Anglican Confession, the Two-and-forty (later Thirty-nine) Articles adopted in 1551, in part literally reproduces the Augsburg Confession. But the Zwinglian strain now gained the ascendancy. In his translation of Jonas's catechism Cranmer altered the text in a manner to conform to the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. And the Thirty-nine Articles contain the Reformed view concerning the Sacraments. The leaders of Anglicanism at that time were either Calvinists and Zwinglians, or were middle-of-the-road men and ecclesiastical diplomats, like Bucer. Thus it was that England did not become Lutheran. As an organized force in English history, Lutheranism was killed by politics. A lewd and tyrannical king held the reins of power. Roman Catholic bigotry at one time made him an enemy of the Reformation, expediency ranged him among her friends for a season, but when the loyalty of Lutheran princes could not be bought, he turned against his evangelical subjects in the cruel rage characteristic of unbalanced tyrants. When the politico-ecclesiastical tinkerers under Edward VI got through their work, they had compounded a confession which is neither Lutheran nor Calvinistic, but Anglican. The clear stream of Lutheranism was swallowed up in the muddy, Anglican waters. Yet it should not be forgotten that, in the words of old Lithenius, it was "Luther, the great instrument of God in reforming the British Church, who opened the way to England and Scotland to extricate themselves from papal servitude." And the imperishable legacy of Lutheranism to the English-speaking world is the English Bible.

Luther's End.

Rev. E. Haertel, Chicago, Ill.

It is hard for us to realize that a man whose literary products fill twenty-five large volumes; who constantly lectured to large classes at the University; whose correspondence on a vast variety of subjects was enormous; who with the aid of several friends rendered the Bible into the vernacular; who preached several sermons a week; who could find time to compose a number of powerful hymns and set some of them to music; who could in his home and social life maintain a most cheerful spirit, — it is hard for us to realize that such a man could be otherwise than physically strong and of rugged health. The familiar portrait of Luther representing him as he appeared toward the end of his career tends to strengthen the impression that he was a robust man and of great strength. As a matter of fact, however, Luther was far from being the well man he is popularly supposed to have been. Very early in life he was attacked by the calculus, from which painful disorder he suffered severely. In December, 1537, he writes: "I am little more than a benumbed and frozen carcass." At another time he said: "This toothache and earache I am always suffering from are worse than the plague. When I was at Coburg, in 1530, I was tormented with a noise and buzzing in my ears, just as though there were some wind tearing through my head. The devil had something to do with it."

A man was complaining to him one day of the itch; said Luther: "I should be very glad to change with you, and to give you ten florins into the bargain. You don't know what a horrible thing this vertigo of mine is. Here, all to-day, I have not been able to read a letter through, nor even two or three lines of the Psalter consecutively. I do not get beyond three or four words, when, buzz, buzz! the noise begins again, and often I am near falling off my chair with the pain. But the itch, that's nothing; nay, it is rather a beneficial complaint."

One day, when he had been preaching at Smalcald, he

had, after dinner, a severe attack of his malady, whereupon he knelt down and prayed fervently: "O my God, my Lord Jesus! Thou knowest with what zeal I have preached Thy Word; if it be to the glory of Thy name, come to my succor; if not, close my eyes."

"My head is so weak, so unsteady, that I can neither read nor write, especially when fasting." (February 9, 1543.)

"I am feeble and weary of life. I would fain bid adieu to the world, which is now given over to the Evil One. God grant me a favorable hour for my departure and a prosperous journey. Amen." (March 14, 1543.)

To Amsdorf he said, on the 18th of August in the same year: "I write this to you after supper, for when fasting, I cannot, without great danger, even look at a book or a paper. I don't understand this wretched malady at all; whether it is one of Satan's blows at me or the effects of nature's decay."

"I take it that my malady is made up, first, of the ordinary weakness of advanced age; secondly, of the results of my long labors and habitual tension of thought; thirdly, above all, of the blows of Satan; if this be so, there is no medicine in the world that will cure me." (November 7, 1543.)

In this same year his old enemy returned with alarming severity. An abscess also appeared on his left leg. Finding that a fresh breaking out of it seemed to relieve his head, his friend, Ratzeberger, the Elector's physician, applied a seton to keep the issue open.

Little wonder, then, that the thought of an early death was ever present with him. Thus on the occasion of the death of a pious man he said: "This man fell gently asleep; he did not know that he died, and does not yet know that he is dead; for he fell asleep in the Word and knowledge of Christ. Dear Lord Jesus, grant unto me soon such a quiet and blessed death, and take me also out of this misery and vale of tears to Thyself." In a letter addressed to Melanchthon, dated April 18, 1541, after relating his sufferings, he says: "May it please Christ to remove my soul into the

peace of the Lord. By the grace of God, I am ready and desirous to go. I have lived out and finished the course assigned to me by God. Oh, may my soul, wearied with so long a journey on earth, now ascend into heaven!"

"I have no time to write to you at any length, my dear Probst, for though I am overwhelmed with age and weariness, old, cold, and half blind" (Luther had been for some time afflicted with a disease in one of his eyes), "as the saying is, yet I am not permitted as yet to take my repose."

During the last two or three years of his life his enemies from time to time spread abroad rumors of his death, adding embellishing accounts with most tragic and fantastic details. To put an end to this annoyance, Luther in 1545 printed in German and Italian a pamphlet entitled, "Lies of the Italians Touching the Alleged Death of Martin Luther."

His last days were occupied in the difficult and delicate task of bringing about a reconciliation between the Counts of Mansfeld, in whose domain he had been born. "A week, more or less," he writes to Count Albert, who had asked him to come to Eisleben as arbitrator, "will not prevent me from coming, though, truly, I am much occupied with other affairs. But I feel that I shall lie down on my death-bed with joy when I have seen my dear lords reconciled and once more friends."

Dissensions had arisen between the counts concerning certain revenues from the mines and other rights. Luther had already entreated them in God's name amicably to adjust the matters; but their quarrels only seemed to increase in bitterness. They had now agreed so far as to invite his mediation, and Luther, though sick and overburdened with work, did not feel that he could decline to serve his masters and early home with his prayer and counsel.

In October, 1545, he, accordingly, went there with Melanchthon, but the visit proved fruitless as the counts were suddenly called away to war. At Christmas time he again journeyed to Mansfeld accompanied by Melanchthon. The meetings had hardly begun when Melanchthon was

taken seriously ill, and his anxiety for his friend would not permit him to remain. At Wittenberg he preached for the last time on January 17, 1546. On the 23d of January he started on his third journey, this time to Eisleben, which had been appointed for the conference. He took with him his three sons, to whom he wanted to show his old home, their tutor, his own servant, and Aurifaber. He had hoped to reach his destination already on the following day, but the breaking of the ice, followed by a heavy flood in the river Saale, obliged him to sojourn in Halle at the house of his friend Dr. Jonas until the 28th. To his wife he wrote: "Dear Katie: We arrived at eight o'clock this morning in Halle, but could not proceed to Eisleben; for an Anabaptist met us with waves of water and great blocks of ice, which covered the land and threatened to baptize us. Nor could we retrace our steps on account of the river Mulda, but were obliged to remain at Halle between two streams. Not as if we were anxious to drink of these waters, for we substitute good beer of Torgau and good Rhine wine for the water, and refresh and comfort ourselves therewith until the Saale shall have done raging."

To his friends he said, "Dear friends, we are mighty good comrades; we eat and drink together, but the time will come when we must die. I am now going to Eisleben to reconcile the Counts of Mansfeld, whose temper of mind I know. When Christ undertook to reconcile His heavenly Father and the world, He had to die for them. God grant that it may be the same with me."

It was probably then that he brought Jonas as a present the beautiful white goblet which is still preserved at Nuremberg. The Latin couplet on it is to this effect:

> Luther this glass, himself a glass, doth on his friend bestow,
> That each himself a brittle glass may by this token know.

On the 28th the travelers, who were joined by Jonas, ventured the still perilous crossing of the Saale, and reached Eisleben in the evening, where the Counts of Mansfeld, with several other notables, were waiting for Luther. Shortly

before reaching the city, Luther went some distance on foot, became overheated, and when he resumed his seat in the wagon, such a chill blast struck him from the rear that he was attacked by severe pains in the chest and great dizziness. At Eisleben he quickly recovered, and preached on the following Sunday. To Melanchthon he wrote: "Now I feel quite well again, but for how long I know not, for you cannot trust old age." His sons he permitted to visit relatives in Mansfeld.

Luther was comfortably quartered at the Drachstedt, a house belonging to the city, and inhabited by the town-clerk, Albert. The arbitration proceedings were commenced at once in the house where he was staying, but very slow progress was made on account of the mutual distrust of the contesting parties. Luther was much discouraged, and even suggested that the Elector be requested to command his return on urgent business, as he was under the impression that they would not permit him to depart without having accomplished the object of their meeting. He was also much incensed at the quibbling of the lawyers, and because they backed up each party to stand on his imagined rights.

During this time Luther's health seemed to be in fairly good condition. His appetite and sleep were good. He preached four times, ordained two pastors, and partook twice of the Sacrament. His last sermon was preached on February 14th and concluded with the words: "This and much more could be said of this Gospel, but I am too weak; we shall have to pause here. May God grant His grace that we accept His precious Word with thanksgiving, grow and increase in the knowledge and faith of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and remain steadfast in the confession of His Word unto our end. Amen."

In the mean time his Katie was being consumed by worry in Wittenberg, and he sought to relieve her anxiety by writing her five letters in fourteen days. They were full of affection, comfort, and humor. In one of them he jestingly chides her for her lack of faith in the words: "Dear Katie: Read St. John and the Small Catechism. . . . You want to

do the caring instead of God, just as though He were not almighty and could not create ten Doctor Martins if the old one drowned in the Saale, or died by the fireplace, or in Wolf's bird-trap. Spare me with your cares, for I know One who can care for me better than you or all the angels. He lies in a manger and hangs upon a virgin's breast; but He, nevertheless, sits on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. Therefore abide in peace. Amen." And three days later he thanks "the holy, anxious mistress," the "sacrosanct Mrs. Doctor," for her great concern which will not permit her to sleep; "for since you have been caring for us, the fire wanted to consume us in our quarters, almost in front of the door of my chamber, and yesterday, no doubt but by virtue of your care, a stone almost fell on my head and crushed it as in a mousetrap"; and then he continues, "I worry that if you do not stop worrying, the earth may at last swallow us up, and all the elements pursue us. Do you thus learn the Catechism and the Creed? You must pray and let God do the caring, as we read, 'Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and He will sustain thee.' Ps. 55."

Of the voluptuous life of the princes he wrote to his wife: "You may tell Philip to correct his postil, for he did not understand why the Lord in the Gospel calls riches thorns. Here is the school to learn that. But it fills me with dread to think that in the Scriptures the thorns are threatened with fire."

On the 10th of February he wrote: "We are, God be praised, quite well. Dr. Jonas wanted a sore leg, and accidentally bumped it against a chest. So great is envy among men that he would not even let me be the only one to have a sore leg."

This sore leg evidently caused Luther not a little anxiety. The ointment with which the ulcer was to be kept open had been forgotten, and at Eisleben the wound was almost healed up. Intending to spare his wife all worry, he asks Melanchthon to send a special messenger with the ointment. He writes, "You know how dangerous that is." And after-

ward Dr. Ratzeberger actually ascribed Luther's unexpected death to the neglect of the seton.

On the 14th of February Luther reported to his wife the encouraging progress of the proceedings, and announced his early return. The lords had come to an agreement on all points of the dispute except two or three, and the two counts, Gebhard and Albrecht, had been reconciled. "Our young nobles are all gaiety now; they drive the ladies out in sleighs and make the horses' bells jingle a pretty tune." He was quite cheerful now, but spoke much of death, remarking that he would soon go to Wittenberg to lay himself into a coffin, and "give the worms a fat doctor to devour."

On the 16th an agreement was actually reached. On the morning of the 17th Luther was so ill that the counts entreated him not to quit his apartment to participate in the closing session, in which the stipulations were finally agreed upon, and later submitted to him for his signature. He spent the forenoon in conversation with Jonas, Coelius, and his God. "Here at Eisleben I was baptized," he once remarked, "suppose I should now stay here?"

Before supper he complained of oppression of the chest, and had himself rubbed with warm cloths. The evening meal he shared with the others in the dining-hall, one floor below his rooms. He was apparently well again. He ate as usual, and his conversation was the usual free mixture of seriousness and humor. He spoke of death and recognition after death, affirming that, as Adam recognized Eve on awaking from sleep, so we would recognize one another after death. No one suspected what was before them.

He then arose to retire, followed by his two younger sons, Martin and Paul, who had returned from Mansfeld, and Coelius. According to his custom he remained for a long time at the window engaged in silent prayer. Coelius soon came down again, and Aurifaber went to the room.

Suddenly Luther was attacked by extreme pains in his chest. Aurifaber hastened to the wife of Count Albrecht, who was said to have a remedy for this. Jonas and Coelius, who had speedily returned, endeavored to increase the circula-

tion by rubbing him with warm cloths. After the count had given him the remedy, the attack seemed to be over. He laid himself down on a leathern sofa and slept peacefully until ten o'clock.

On awaking, he said to those present, "What, are you still there? Will you not, dear friends, also retire?" On their replying that they would remain with him, he arose to go to his bed in an adjoining room. When he crossed the threshold, he said in Latin: "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit; Thou hast redeemed me, Thou faithful God." After he had slumbered peacefully for about two hours, the attack was renewed. "O Lord God," he exclaimed, "I am in such pains! Ah, dear Dr. Jonas, I think I shall remain here at Eisleben where I was born and baptized." Again he arose and went unaided to the sofa. The oppression increased. When continued rubbing with warmed cloths and other remedial measures finally brought on perspiration, hope was expressed by those present, but Luther said: "It is a cold sweat of death; I shall give up my spirit, for the sickness is increasing." Then he prayed: "O my heavenly Father, Thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou God of all comfort, I thank Thee that Thou hast revealed unto me Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, on whom I believe, whom I have preached and confessed, whom I have loved and lauded, whom the wicked pope and all the ungodly abuse, persecute, and blaspheme. I pray Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, let my poor soul be committed into Thy keeping. O heavenly Father, I know assuredly that, although I must give up this body and be removed from this life, I shall still abide with Thee eternally, and that no one can pluck me out of Thy hand." He also comforted himself with his favorite text, John 3, 16, and with the words of the 68th Psalm: "He that is our God is the God of salvation." Thrice he was heard to repeat the words, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, Thou faithful God." Hereupon he was silent. While his wrists were being bathed, Dr. Jonas and Coelius asked him, "Reverend father, are you willing to die faithful to Christ and

the doctrine you have preached?" and he answered distinctly, "Yes." He then turned over on his right side and slept. In less than a quarter of an hour he gently and peacefully, without the slightest struggle or convulsion, yielded up his spirit. The Lord had called him home between two and three o'clock in the morning of Thursday, February 18, 1546.

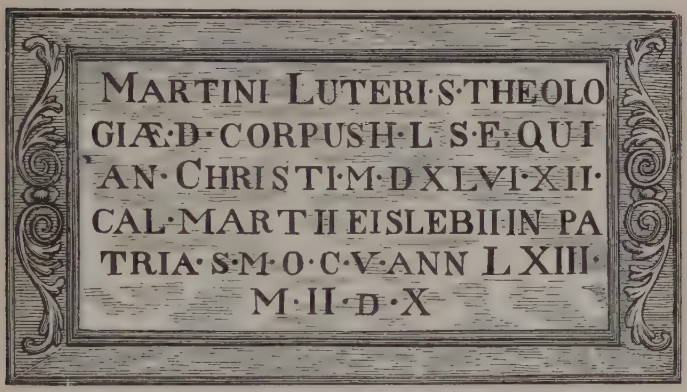
Jonas at once notified the Elector. Mrs. Katie received the sad news on the 19th, and Melanchthon first announced the death to the students in his lecture on Romans. After this a posted bulletin informed the university and the city of the departure of the great Reformer.

The Counts of Mansfeld desired to keep the body in their country, Luther's native land, but the Elector decided that it should be brought to Wittenberg. After two portraits had been made of his face, the body was wrapped in a long white garment and placed in a coffin. It was then carried into St. Andrew's Church, where Dr. Jonas preached an excellent sermon from 1 Thess. 4, 13—18, and Coelius preached from Is. 57, 1. At twelve the body was carried out of the city, escorted by about 50 horsemen, under the command of the two Counts of Mansfeld, and a large number of people. Everywhere the procession was received by new mourners and the tolling of bells. In Halle it was placed in the church for the night. On the 22d, at nine o'clock in the morning, Wittenberg was reached. At the Elster Gate the remains were met by an immense throng, and escorted to the Castle Church in solemn procession. It was preceded by the nobles representing the Elector, two Counts of Mansfeld, and about 65 horsemen. Behind the coffin rode the widow in a little carriage with some other gentlewomen and her daughter Margaret. She was followed by Luther's three sons, John, Martin, and Paul, his brother, and other relatives. Back of them marched the rector of the university, Chancellor Brueck, and the entire faculty and students, the town-council, and the citizens.

In the Castle Church Bugenhagen first preached from 1 Thess. 4, 13, and in conclusion quoted Luther's prophecy and memorial inscription: "Living was I thy plague, and

dying will I be thy death, O pope!" Then Melanchthon delivered in Latin, on behalf of the university, a most eloquent tribute to his friend.

Close to the pulpit from which Luther had so often preached the coffin was lowered into the vault. The grave having been filled up and properly secured, a brass plate was affixed upon it with this inscription:



Tributes to Luther.

Rev. O. C. Kreinheder, St. Paul, Minn.

The name and character of Martin Luther have not escaped the tongue and pen of vile slander and malicious calumny. Next to Jesus Christ, Johann Albrecht Bengel has said, no one has been more calumniated than Dr. Martin Luther, the apostles not excepted. Though mankind at large is to-day enjoying the beneficent fruits of Luther's life and labors, there still are those who hate and abhor his name, and think of him as the archheretic of the Christian Church. "Rome has never forgotten nor forgiven Luther. She sought his life while living, and she curses him in his grave. Profited by his labors beyond what she ever could have been without

him, she strains and chokes with anathemas upon his name and everything that savors of him. . . . Even while the free peoples of the earth are making grateful acknowledgments of the priceless boon that has come to them through his life and labors, press and platform hiss with stale vituperations from the old enemy. And a puling Churchism outside of Rome takes an ill-pleasure in following after her to gather and retail this vomit of malignity." [1] And yet, "no man has been so much honored, no man — save the apostles — deserves so much to be held in grateful remembrance as Martin Luther, remarkable alike as a man, as a Christian, as a husband and father, as a theologian, as a Bible translator, catechist, and hymnist, as the bold champion of the freedom of conscience, as the founder of the Lutheran Church, and as the chief leader of that Reformation which carried Christendom back to first principles, and urged it forward to new conquests." [2] The chosen instrument of God for the reformation of the Church, Luther's name "has become a household word, a name that shines with greater luster than the name of Milton, of Shakespeare, or of Newton, because associated with more glorious triumphs; a name that has left behind it a legacy that no other has rivaled — the legacy of an unshackled Christianity, an unclasped Bible, a preached Gospel." [3] "The ovation to the memory of Martin Luther, on the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth, surpassed in extent and enthusiasm everything that has in any age been rendered to the memory of mortal man. All denominations, all classes, all institutions, throughout every country in the world into which the blessings of the Reformation have penetrated, united spontaneously in celebrating his personal merits and his illustrious services to religion and progress, and raised him to a pedestal of fame which stands without a rival, and which can never perish. It was the grateful tribute of the modern world to him who is, humanly

1) Dr. J. A. Seiss, *Luther and the Reformation*, p. 131.
2) Philip Schaff, in *Luther as a Reformer*.
3) Cumming's *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, p. 122.

speaking, acknowledged as its creator." [4] At the approaching celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation much, no doubt, will be said in praise of the man who was the mighty agent of the Lord of hosts in this epochal movement; but surely no one can blame us for these words of praise, which are spoken not to deify the man, but to honor and gratefully to adore the goodness and mercy of Him who blessed the world through Martin Luther.

The "titanic" and many-sided greatness, the "majestic genius," the noble qualities of mind and heart of "the modern world's foremost prophet" [5] have evoked from an admiring world the most glowing tributes all through the centuries that succeeded his heroic struggle for truth and righteousness, tributes that are indeed an "offering of flowers and fruit on the altar of the greatest memory which the heart of modern Christianity enshrines." [6] Nor have "alone his followers, the Lutherans, lavished on him the highest praise." [7] "Romanists have emulated Protestants in his praise; Rationalists have seemed to venerate him whilst they were laboring to undo his work." [8] No higher tribute was ever paid Luther by any of his followers than was that of the devoted and conscientious Romanist, Frederick von Schlegel, who said: "As to the intellectual power and greatness of Luther, . . . I think there are few even of his own disciples who appreciate him highly enough." [9]

With respect to Luther's singular and overtowering greatness as a man among men, the loftiest tributes have been paid him. Melanchthon, who surely knew him well, and who had every opportunity to estimate the excellent and eminent qualities of mind and heart with which he was

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4) Prof. Wolf.

5) Dr. McGiffert, *Century*, September, 1911.

6) Krauth, *Conservative Reformation*, p. 22.

7) *Oeuvres de Bossuet* (*Histoire des Variations*), Vol. IV, p. 9.

8) Krauth, *Conservative Reformation*, p. 45.

9) *Lectures on the History of Literature;* New York, 1841, p. 350.

endowed, said: "Luther is too great, too wonderful for me to depict in words." "There was probably never created a more powerful human being, a more gigantic, full-proportioned man, in the highest sense of the term. All that belongs to human nature, all that goes to constitute a man, had a strongly-marked development in him. He was a *model man,* one that might be shown to other beings in other parts of the universe as a specimen of collective manhood in its maturest growth." [10] "He was a complete man, I would say, an absolute man, one in whom matter and spirit were not divided. To call him a spiritualist, therefore, would be as great an error as to call him a sensualist. . . . He had something original, incomprehensible, miraculous, such as we find in all providential men, — something invincible, spirit-possessed." [11] "His moral courage, his undaunted firmness, his strong conviction, and the great revolution which he effected in society, place him in the first rank of historical characters. The form of the monk of Wittenberg, emerging from the receding gloom of the Middle Ages, appears towering above the sovereigns and warriors, statesmen and divines of the sixteenth century, who were his contemporaries, his antagonists, or his disciples." [12] "If we recall, among other great names in German history, the Reformers Melanchthon and Zwingli, the Saxon electors, Frederick the Wise and John the Constant, Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick the Great; or, among intellectual celebrities, Klopstock and Lessing, Hamann and Herder, Goethe and Schiller; or turn to the great religious reformers of the last centuries, Spener, Francke, Zinzendorf, Bengel, and Lavater, they all exhibit many features of relationship with Luther, and in some qualities may even surpass him, but none stands out a *Luther.* One is deficient in the poetic impulse or the fulness and versatility of his nature; another

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10) Dr. Calvin E. Stowe, quoted in Seiss's *Luther and the Reformation,* p. 123.

11) Heine.

12) *Cyclopaedia of British Society,* Vol. XIII, p. 207.

wants his depth of religious feeling, his firmness of purpose, and strength of character; others, again, want his eloquence or influence over his contemporaries. Luther would not have been Luther without these three leading features: his strong faith, his spiritual eloquence, and firmness of character and purpose. He united — and this is the most extraordinary fact connected with him — to large endowments of mind and heart, and the great gift of imparting these intellectual treasures, the invincible power of original and creative thought, both in resisting and influencing the outer world." [13] Nor did he only outrank in greatness his contemporaries. "Between the first century, when Christianity appeared in its youth, and the sixteenth, when it obtained the maturity of its riper age, not one of our race has appeared in whom the ever creative spirit of God, the spirit of light and of law, has found nobler endowment, or wrought with richer sequence." [14] Ranked by many as the greatest man in history after the Apostle Paul, regarded as the man "who accomplished more for his race than any man in history after the incomparable St. Paul," [15] eminently endowed by the God he served so faithfully and so well, he indeed stands before the world, as Melanchthon called him, "a miracle among men." Filled with admiration for him, the brilliant Carlyle, in seeking to extol his greatness, eloquently said: "I will call this Luther a true great man; great in intellect, in courage, affection, and integrity; one of the most lovable and precious men. Great, not as a hewn obelisk, but as an Alpine mountain, — so simple, honest, spontaneous, not setting up to be great at all; there for quite another purpose than being great. Ah yes, unsubdued granite, piercing far and wide into the heavens: yet in the clefts of its fountains, green, beautiful valleys with flowers! A right spiritual hero and prophet; once more, a true son of Nature and Fact, for

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13) Gelzer, in the pictured *Life of Luther* by Konig and Gelzer.

14) Stang, in closing his biography of Luther.

15) Schaff.

whom these centuries, and many that are to come yet, will be thankful to heaven." [16] Then

> . . . let the pope and priest their victor scorn,
> Each fault reveal, each imperfection scan,
> And by their fell anatomy of hate
> His life dissect with satire's keenest edge, —
> But still may Luther, with his mighty heart,
> Defy their malice. . . .
>
> . . . Far beyond them soars the soul
> They slander; from his tomb there still comes forth
> A magic which appals them by its power;
> And the brave monk who made the popedom rock
> Champions a world to show his equal yet. [17]

More than two hundred biographies have been written of him in Latin, German, French, English, Danish, Swedish, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian. [18] "A glance at the catalog of almost any great library, that of the British Museum for instance, will show that more has been written about Luther than about any man, save one, who ever lived." [19]

The Reformation of the Church, under God, was the work of Martin Luther, "whom God made choice of before others to be of highest eminence and power in reforming the Church," [20] and "never scarcely did the hand of God form a fitter instrument to do a greater work." [21] "The Reformation sprang living from his own heart, where God Himself had placed it." [22] "In the providence of God all the principles of reform were condensed and capitalized in the person of Luther, and then flamed forth upon Europe." [23]

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16) *Heroes and Hero Worship*, p. 127.
17) Montgomery's *Luther*.
18) Boehmer, *Luther in the Light of Recent Research*, p. 7.
19) Dr. Preserved Smith. 20) John Milton.
21) F. A. Cox, D. D., LL. D. (London), in *The Life of Philip Melanchthon*.
22) D'Aubigne's *Voice of the Church*.
23) Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, in *All the Year Round*.

"A sense of duty, acting on an unconquered heart, sent him forth single-handed to encounter hosts of obdurate foes; and, by the bent of his uplifted arm, he shook the authority of the high pontificate which kept the potentates of the earth in thraldom, and brought down the peering altitude of that olden tyranny whose head was raised to heaven, and whose base was fixed in the deepest prejudice. His lone heart nourished the germ of the greatest revolution that world ever saw. Many heads caught his enthusiastic ardor; and his voice was echoed from the most distant corners of Europe. He entered the field as a champion of the rights of humanity, his might overcame every difficulty, and he stood forward as the victorious conqueror of ignorance and imposture. . . . Luther did more for the success of a mighty cause than any had before achieved in the history of the world. From his deep, silent, and meditative spirit an impulse was given to the mechanism of human society which it never till then received." [24]) "The words of Luther set the world ablaze with a new era." [25]) The opinions propagated by him "led to that happy reformation in religion which rescued one part of Europe from the papal yoke, mitigated its rigor in another, and produced a revolution in the sentiments of mankind greater, as well as the most beneficial, than has happened since the publication of Christianity." [26]) "Luther's teaching of justification by faith," which was the central doctrine of the Reformation, "changed the face of the whole world." [27]) He "freed religion, and by that he freed all things." [28]) "There is no province of human intelligence and action which was not refreshed and fertilized by the universal effort," Luther's Reformation,[29]) so that "all human progress must remember Martin Luther." [30]) "The Reforma-

24) Dr. Chalmers, in a sermon preached in London.
25) Prof. Chas. Briggs, Union Seminary.
26) Robertson's *Charles V.*
27) Berger, *Kulturaufgaben der Reformation.*
28) Adolph Harnack.
29) Taine, *English Literature,* Bk. II, chap. 1.
30) Phillips Brooks.

tion . . . exercised its beneficial influence not only throughout Germany, but over the whole civilized world, and it is in this sense that the Reformation is universally considered as the beginning of a New Era in the history of the world. The Reformation is the source, directly or indirectly, by action or by reaction, of everything great and noble which has taken place from about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Through the Reformation alone men of all creeds have become free and enlightened. And this is the reason why not only the theologian, but also the political and literary historian hails the work of the Reformation as one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed on mankind." [31]) All this is owing, as it has been said, "to the intense personal conviction and contagious faith of one man — Martin Luther." [32]) Indeed, "the Reformation is Luther," [33]) and "after Luther nothing new was added to the Reformation." [34]) "Christendom is Luther's monument, for Christendom is now predominantly Protestant. It has accepted his interpretation of Christianity. He was greater than poets or emperors, as religion is higher than literature or government. His monument . . . it is all about us; it is in us." [35])

Now, "the principles of the Reformation for which Luther lived and was ready to die at any moment are the propelling forces of modern church history" and, it may be added, of modern political history as well. "They have stood the test of more than three hundred years, against persecution from without and corruption from within, and are still as vital as ever." [36]) The principles for which the great Reformer contended so courageously, so valiantly, and victoriously were these: the supremacy of the Bible, the supremacy of faith, the supremacy of the people; also designated, respectively, as the formal, the material, and the social principles of Protestantism.

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31) Dr. Buchheim, professor in King's College, London.

32) The Very Rev. Principal John Tullock, *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1884, p. 660.

33) Mr. Morley.

34) J. A. Bengel.

35) *New York Independent.*

36) Philip Schaff.

The first of these principles accepts the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only infallible source and rule of Christian faith and duty. "It stands opposed, on the one hand, to the principle of traditionalism, which so overloads the Word of God with human traditions as to hide it from the people and to make it of none effect"; on the other, to the principle of rationalism, which subjects the statements of the inerrant Word of the Infinite to the erring judgment of man's finite reason. With Luther the supremacy of the Bible was fundamental. Not the pope, not the fathers, not the church councils, but "the Bible was to him the sole infallible authority, where every Christian for himself could find the truth and the road to salvation, if he faithfully and piously looked for it." [37] His constant appeal in his gigantic struggle with the forces of error and falsehood was to the Word, and to the Word alone. "He followed the prophets and apostles in preference to the fathers and the schoolmen. When Jesus Christ became his master, he rejected the pope. He discarded the manifold sense, because he had found the divine sense. He rejected the decisions of the councils because he bowed before the decisions of God. He went back of the fathers to the Father of all fathers." [38] And thus, "with the Bible in his hand, head, and heart, he went forth to fight his battles against the pope and the devil, being assured that 'one little word' of the Almighty can slay them. On this immovable rock . . . the humble monk took his stand at the Diet of Worms, *unus versus mundum,* strong in the sense of his own weakness, independent in the sense of his dependence, free in his obedience to God and the voice of conscience," [39] and, standing on the Word of God, on that occasion which has been called "the greatest scene in modern European history, the point, indeed, from which the whole subsequent history of civilization takes its rise," he made that "good confession," "sur-

37) James Anthony Froude.

38) Prof. Chas. A. Briggs, in *Luther as Professor of Theology.*

39) Philip Schaff, in *Luther as a Reformer.*

passed in moral grandeur but by one in the whole history of the race." God was his trust, His Word, his stay. And that every man might thus, as he, base his faith on the Word of God, and that alone, he placed the Bible into the hands of the people in a translation which, "one of the most Herculanean achievements of the great Reformer," [40]) on account of its fidelity to the original, its felicity of words, the dignity, force, and vivacity of expression, and the rhythmic melody of its style, has "excited an admiration to which witness has been borne from the beginning by friend and foe." "The remarkable version of Holy Scriptures made by Luther has superseded all others in the German language, and is the universal, standard German Bible. It is acknowledged everywhere, by all parties, as one of the very best translations ever made; and it led the way for, and exerted a marked influence on, all the translations of the Word of God in other modern tongues. Heine says it created the German language. . . . Hedge, in his *Prose Writers of Germany,* says: 'The modern high German must be considered as having first attained its full development and perfect finish in Luther's version of the Bible.' By means of that Book it obtained a currency which nothing else could have given it. It became fixed. It became universal. It became the organ of a literature, which, more than any other since the Greek, has become a literature of ideas. It became the vehicle of modern philosophy, the cradle of those thoughts which, at this moment, act most intensely on the human mind." [41]) "All true philologists regard this as the standard and model of classical expression in the German language. . . . It is worthy of notice that in no other modern language have so many Biblical words and phrases come into the use of common life as in ours." [42]) And another Roman Catholic author said that "Luther's

40) Seiss, in *Ecclesia Lutherana,* p. 73.

41) Seiss, in *Ecclesia Lutherana,* p. 74.

42) Frederick von Schlegel, in *Lectures on the History of Literature;* New York, pp. 348—350.

translation of the Bible is a noble monument of literature, a vast enterprise, which seemed to require more than the life of man, but which Luther accomplished in a few years. . . . His translation sometimes renders the primitive phrase with touching simplicity, invests itself with sublimity and magnificence, and receives all the modifications which he wishes to impart to it. . . . Both Catholics and Protestants regarded it an honor done to their ancient idiom." [43])

Let grateful reverence long that work admire
O'er which a seraph's wings might shake with joy,
By Luther, with colossal power, achieved.
There was the Word Almighty, from the grave
Of buried language, into breathing life
Summoned in saintly glory to arise,
And speak to souls what souls could understand.

The words of truth
Eternal gave their hoary secrets up,
While God's own language into Luther's passed,
. . . till, behold, the voice
Of Jesus out of classic fetters came,
And, like its Author, to the poor man preached. [44])

The second of the great principles of the Reformation was the supremacy of faith, *i. e.*, the Scriptural doctrine of justification by faith in distinction from Rome's doctrine of justification by works. Around this doctrine especially the great conflict with Rome revolved. "If the Word of God, as the sole fountain of authority for the Christian conscience, as over against the authority of popes and councils, was the chief means of the Reformation, the doctrine of that Word most potent in the movement was justification by faith." "The underlying principle of those propositions (which Luther nailed to the doors of the Castle Church) was grace, a divine grace to save the world, the principle of Paul and St. Augustine; therefore not new, but forgotten; a mighty comfort to miserable people, mocked

43) Audin's *Life of Luther*, chap. XXIV.
44) Montgomery's *Luther*, p. 173.

and cheated and robbed by a venal and gluttonous clergy." [45] "Deeply had this doctrine been written on Luther's heart. Like a charm it stole upon his agitated and agonized conscience in the cloister of Erfurt. Like a voice from heaven it flashed upon him while attempting, by way of penance, to climb upon his knees up Pilate's staircase at Rome, and filled his soul, as it has the soul of many a sinner, with the glad consciousness of acceptance in Jesus. . . . In all his subsequent labors for God and the Church Luther never ceased to proclaim this doctrine, as the vital essence and sum of the Reformation he preached, yea, as the article by which the Church must stand or fall. . . . Indeed, like Paul, he seemed to know nothing but justification by faith in the Son of God, crucified for sin. It was wrought in Him. It permeated his whole being. It was welded to his spirit. It was the center to which all his thoughts, feelings, and hopes gravitated. It was the spring from which all his heroic impulses came. It was the secret of his strength, both before God and man. As soon might immortal mind be annihilated as the great truth displaced from his inmost soul. . . . 'This one article,' says Luther, 'reigneth in my heart,' and this one article reigns through all the work that he accomplished, and through all the Church which he restored." [46] "No marvel," says Cardinal Newman, "that he has given us the clearest, fullest, joyfulest exposition of saving faith extant in Christian literature." "No one since the time of the apostles has ever taught more clearly and faithfully the article of justification." [47] "He was appointed in the counsels of Providence, by no means exclusive of the other reformers, but in a manner more extraordinary and much superior, to teach mankind, after upwards of a thousand years' obscurity, this great evangelical tenet, compared with which how little appear all other objects of controversy! He proved by numberless arguments from the Scriptures,

45) John Lord, in *Beacon Lights of History.*
46) Seiss, in *Ecclesia Lutherana*, pp. 62—66.
47) Bucer.

and particularly by the marked opposition between law and faith, law and grace, that in justification before God all sorts of human works are excluded, moral as well as ceremonial. He restored to the Christian world the true *forensic* or judicial sense of the word justification, and rescued that term from the erroneous sense in which, for many ages, it had been misunderstood, as though it meant *infused* habits of virtue, whence it had been usual to confound justification with sanctification. By this doctrine, rightly stated, with all its adjuncts and dependencies, a new light breaks in on the mind, and Christianity appears singularly distinct, not only from Romanism, but also from all other religions. Neither the superstitions of the papist, nor the sensibility of the humane, nor the splendid alms of the ostentatious, nor the most powerful efforts of unassisted nature, avail in the smallest degree to the purchase of pardon and peace. The glory of this purchase belongs to Christ alone; and he who in real humility approves of, acquiesces in, and rests on, Him is the true Christian." [48])

'Twas grace in principle which Luther taught:
Here is the lever which the world uplifts, —
"A Savior just for man unjust has died!"
Here is a *truth*, whose trumpet voice might preach
The pope's religion into airy naught;
A truth which is at once the text of texts,
Making all Scriptures music to our souls. [49])

The third great principle of the Reformation, the logical consequence of the other two, was the supremacy of the people, *i. e.*, "the general priesthood of believers in opposition to an exclusive hierarchy or priest-caste, which claims to be the indispensable mediator between God and man; thus setting aside the eternal priesthood of Christ, and assigning to the laity the degrading position of passive obedience. . . . This principle implies the right and duty of every believer to read the Word of God in his vernacular tongue, to go

48) Scott, in his *Luther and the Lutheran Reformation*.

49) Montgomery's *Luther*.

directly to the throne of grace, and to take an active part in all the affairs of the Church according to his peculiar gift and calling. . . . The principle of the general priesthood of the Christian people is the true source of religious and civil freedom"; [50]) for "liberty of conscience, once secured, secures all the rest." [51]) "The principle of justification by faith alone brought with it the freedom of individual thought and conscience against authority," [52]) and, no less than our religious liberty, our "civil liberty is the result of the open Bible which Luther gave us." [53]) "The principles of liberty of conscience and of universal priesthood, which make men inwardly free, lead also involuntarily to outward liberty." [54]) Therefore, "it is not incorrect to say," says Michelet, one of the greatest French Catholic writers of recent times, in the Introduction to his *Life of Luther,* "that Luther has been the restorer of liberty in modern times. If he did not create, he at least courageously affixed his signature to, that great resolution which rendered the right of examination lawful in Europe. And if we exercise, in all its plentitude at this day, this first and highest privilege of human intelligence, it is to him we are most indebted for it; nor can we think, speak, or write without being more conscious at every step of the immense benefit of this intellectual enfranchisement. To whom do I owe the power of publishing what I am now writing but to this liberator of modern thought?" "The real author of modern liberty of thought and action," [55]) "Luther is the father of modern civilization. He emancipated the human mind from ecclesiastical slavery. He proclaimed that freedom of thought without which it is easy to see that, despite the great modern inventions, the spirit of the Dark Ages must have been indefinitely prolonged, and the course of modern civilization must have

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50) Dr. Philip Schaff.
51) Lord Acton, Roman Catholic.
52) Bancroft, I, p. 178. 53) Henry Ward Beecher.
54) Geffcken, *Church and State.*
55) James Freeman Clark.

been essentially different." [56]) "Had there been no Luther, the English, American, and German peoples would be acting differently, would be altogether different men and women from what they are at this moment." [57]) "He moved Europe by ideas which emancipated the millions, and set in motion a progress which is the glory of our age," [58]) and he is, therefore, "the author of the civil liberty that is enjoyed today." [59]) "The establishment of the Republic of America is a corollary of the Reformation," [60]) and, therefore, back of all Pilgrim Fathers, our pioneer settlers, our heroes and martyrs, statesmen and reformers, stands the broad figure of the man of Erfurt and Wittenberg, Worms and Speyer." [61]) "The inalienable rights of an American citizen are nothing but the Protestant idea of the general priesthood of all believers applied to the civil sphere, or developed into the corresponding idea of the general kingship of free men." [62]) "No country has more reason than this Republic to recall with joy the blessings Luther assisted to secure for the world, in emancipating thought and conscience, and impressing the stamp of Christianity upon modern civilization." [63]) The Protestants of the United States may well believe that without the Reformation they would have been rather like South Americans before the revolutions, than what they now are, the wonder, the admiration, and the example of the world." [64]) "The free millions of the United States may, therefore, well rise up and do him honor, by cherishing

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56) Geo. W. Curtis.

57) James Anthony Froude, *Luther, a Short Biography*, p. 4.

58) John Lord's *Beacon Lights, Loyola*, p. 305.

59) Associate Justice Strong.

60) Charles François Dominique de Villers, Professor of Philosophy, University of Goettingen.

61) *Christian Intelligencer.*

62) Philip Schaff, *Creeds*, p. 219.

63) The Hon. John Jay at the Luther Celebration, Academy of Music, New York, November 13, 1883.

64) Thomes Smith Grimke.

his example, pondering his history, and maintaining his creed." [65])

"The greatness of some men only makes us feel that, though they did well, others in their places might have done just as they did. Luther had that exceptional greatness which convinces the world that he alone could have done the work. He was not a mere mountaintop, catching a little earlier the beams which, by their own course, would soon have found the valleys; but rather, by the divine ordination under which he rose, like the sun itself, without which the light on mountain and valley would have been but a starlight or a moonlight. He was not a secondary orb, reflecting the light of another orb, as was Melanchthon and even Calvin; still less the moon of a planet, as Bucer or Brentius; but the center of undulations which filled a system with glory. Yet, though he rose wondrously to a divine ideal, he did not cease to be a man of men. He won the trophies of power and the garlands of affection. Potentates feared him, and little children played with him. He has monuments in marble and bronze, medals in silver and gold; but his noblest monument is the best love of the best hearts, and the brightest, purest impression of his image has been left in the souls of regenerated nations. He was the best teacher of freedom and loyalty. He has made the righteous throne stronger and the innocent cottage happier. He knew how to laugh and how to weep; therefore, millions laughed with him, and millions wept for him. He was tried by deep sorrow and brilliant fortune; he begged the poor scholar's bread, and from emperor and estates of the realm received an embassy, with a prince at his head, to ask him to untie the knot which defied the power of the soldier and the sagacity of the statesman; it was he who added to the Litany the words: 'In all time of our tribulation, in all time of our prosperity, help us, good Lord'; but whether lured by the subtlest flattery or assailed by the powers of hell, tempted

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65) Bishop Thorold of Rochester, England, in *Philadelphia Press* of November 10, 1883.

with the miter, or threatened with the stake, he came off more than conqueror in all. He made a world rich forevermore, and, stripping himself in perpetual charities, died in poverty. He knew how to command, for he had learned how to obey. Had he been less courageous, he would have attempted nothing; had he been less cautious, he would have ruined all: the torrent was resistless, but the banks were deep. He tore up the mightiest evils by the root, but shielded with his own life the tenderest bud of good; he combined the aggressiveness of a just radicalism with the moral resistance — which seemed to the fanatic the passive weakness — of a true conservatism. Faith-inspired, he was faith-inspiring. Great in act as he was, great in thought, proving himself fire with fire, 'inferior eyes grew great by his example, and put on the dauntless spirit of resolution.' The world knows his faults. He could not hide what he was. His transparent candor gave his enemies the material of their misrepresentation; but they cannot blame his infirmities without bearing witness to the nobleness which made him careless of the appearances in a world of defamers. For himself he had as little of the virtue of caution as he had, toward others, of the vice of dissimulation. Living under thousands of jealous and hating eyes, in the broadest light of day, the testimony of his enemies but fixes the result: that his faults were those of a nature of the most consummate grandeur and fulness, faults more precious than the virtues of the common great. Four potentates ruled the mind of Europe in the Reformation, the Emperor, Erasmus, the Pope, and Luther. The Pope wanes, Erasmus is little, the Emperor is nothing, but Luther abides as a power for all time. His image casts itself upon the current of all ages, as the mountain mirrors itself in the river that winds at its foot, — the mighty fixing itself immutably upon the changing." [66])

66) Krauth, *Conservative Reformation*, pp. 86. 87.

Luther and the Constitution of the United States.

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"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America." The noble words of this Preamble sound the keynote of the Constitution of the United States. The peoples who live under the egis of this instrument of government are to be secured in the undisturbed possession of certain "inalienable rights," among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And by no means the least precious of these prerogatives of citizenship under this fundamental law of government is liberty of conscience and freedom of worship.

Awed at the success attained and at the responsibility involved, the first President of our country said in his inaugural speech to Congress in 1789: "It would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute, with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an in-

dependent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency." It may well be that George Washington spoke far more wisely than he knew. The full truth is, that God's providence in the Reformation of the sixteenth century set forth the principles of liberty the fruition of which men are enjoying to-day under the Constitution of the United States. Charles Dudley Warner is right when he says that the United States are to-day what they are largely because of the life of Martin Luther.

Before the sixteenth century the two great obstacles that lay in the way of political and civil liberty were a wrong view concerning the State and its functions and the arrogant pretensions of the pope. According to the prevailing view of government, the individual citizen counted little or nothing, while all emphasis was laid on the power and prerogatives of the State. Whatever attempts were made during the Middle Ages to change the conditions that were fostered by this idea of government, failed to reach the root of the evil and to eliminate the pernicious idea, from the practical affairs of government, that the State was not for the people, but the people for the State. There was needed a reformation, or rather, a revolution, by which the mind of the common man would be freed from the obsession of prevailing conditions, and imbued with the worth and dignity and responsibility of the individual. Not until this soil and environment had been created could the seed of true liberty take root, and blossom forth into a tree of precious fruitage.

As for the proud pretensions of papal power during the time of its supremacy, why clutter these pages with the *débris* of the exploded claims put forth by him who, in a long line of individuals, vaunted himself as the successor of Peter, the Apostle of Jesus, and as the custodian of the two swords of secular and spiritual power? As late as 1516, in the year before Luther nailed the Ninety-five Theses on the door of the Wittenberg Castle Church, Pope Leo X reasserted the claim to universal sovereignty in the bull *Pastor Aeternus*. His predecessors, of whatever name, whether Alexander or Boniface or Gregory, could claim no more, and certainly did

claim nothing less than absolute supremacy in matters of Church and in matters of State.

Thus the shackles were doubly riveted, and the power by which men's minds were held in the spiritual bondage of dependence on the word of teaching and on the prerogative of forgiveness entrusted alone to the reputed Vicar of Christ, was energized by the power to inflict, on king and subject alike, the pains and penalties of bodily torment. No prince was too exalted on his throne, no peasant was too lowly in the obscurity of his hovel to feel the vengeance of the Church that wielded the naked sword of power over the governments and lives of men. In this atmosphere of tyranny and stagnation the tree of liberty could not thrive; and the tender shoots that it did, at times, put forth were soon blasted by the fiery breath of anathema and persecution. The Truth was not without its witnesses also in those days; but the voice of him crying in the wilderness could not prevail against the hurricane of wrath that burst on the devoted head of any one who dared to protest against the tyranny that dominated the lives of men. In the unchanged course of events the dream of liberty could never have been realized as it has been realized in the Constitution of the United States. But the course of events was changed, and the mightiest factor, under the Providence of God, in breaking the power of absolutism and tyranny, was the monk and Doctor of Divinity, Martin Luther.

Luther was, in the full sense of the word, a reformer in the domain of religion. He protested against the false doctrine and pagan practises that had been foisted on the Church. He appealed from pope and from councils and from tradition to the written Word of the living God. He was intent on driving the money-changers from the Temple, and on purging the altar of strange fires, in order that there might be a place for the pure preaching of the Word of God and for the administration of the uncorrupted Sacraments. The Bible must be placed into the hands of the common man. It must be translated into the language that the people could understand, so that each one might read and

search and determine for himself what is the will of God. Therefore, he must learn to read and to think, and to pass judgment for himself. No longer dare he content himself with taking his doctrine and beliefs ready-made from the hand of the priest; he must give answer, and he must know from the authority of the inspired Record of Revelation what is error and what is truth. The responsibility for what man believed and what he did became personal. The common man was no longer merely one of a multitude, a pawn on the chess-board of life. There was awakened in him the consciousness of responsibility and of privilege; and with it all came the yearning for the liberty that goes with responsibility. The effects were inevitable, and made themselves felt in the sphere of the State and of secular life.

Says a recent writer on this subject, Dr. George M. Stephenson: "Martin Luther planted himself squarely upon the platform upon which Christians in all ages have stood — the Bible. The Bible is the book of humanity, and because the Bible is the book of humanity, it is the book of democracy. It follows from this that the Bible is the charter of liberty — the Magna Charta of the world. Wherever the Bible is an open book, there we find religious and political liberty in greater or less degree. The apostles of liberty in all lands have recognized that the Bible is the most effective of all instruments to batter down the fortresses of ignorance and despotism. Recognizing this only too well, the commanders of the forces of despotism have sought to keep it out of the hands of the people."

In his "Appeal to the German Nobility" Luther found it necessary to make known, somewhat in detail, his teaching on the State and on temporal power. Emphatically does he insist that there is a responsibility both of rulers and of citizens; that civil liberty is a right; that civil government is to be viewed as a trust to be executed in the best interests of the governed, and that liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, and the privilege of the press are rights of every individual. The frequently recurring statements concerning the divine origin of the State have been misunderstood by

many writers to have reference to the origin of particular states, particular forms of government, or particular rulers. However, the truth is that Luther does not designate any particular form of civil government as being of divine origin.

In the matter of religious liberty the statements of the Reformer are so clear and strong that only perverseness can misunderstand. At a time when the fate of Hus was not yet forgotten, and when men still remembered how an emperor had broken his solemn pledge of honor in order to surrender a heretic to the demands of Rome, Luther stood forth and proclaimed in clarion tones that force must not be used in matters of faith and religion, and that Church and State must remain separate and distinct. In the espousal of these principles Luther did not waver. Whatever seeming modification in practise there may have been is to be explained merely as a makeshift, made necessary, as he thought, by the exigencies of the times. But the basic principle of the separation of Church and State is expressed too clearly and vehemently in all his writings to allow of any doubt concerning this fundamental doctrine.

Reviewing Luther's teaching on religious liberty, the English statesman and historian James Bryce writes in his *Holy Roman Empire:* "The Reformation became a revolt against the principle of authority in all its forms; it erected the standard of civil as well as of religious liberty, since both of them are needed in a different measure for the development of the individual spirit. . . . The empire had never been conspicuously the antagonist of popular freedom, and was, even under Charles the Fifth, far less formidable to the commonalty than were the territorial princes of Germany. But submission, and submission on the ground of indefensible transmitted right, upon the ground of Catholic traditions and the duty of the Christian magistrate to suffer heresy and schism as little as the parallel sins of treason and rebellion, had been its constant claim and watchword. Since the days of Julius Ceasar it has passed through many phases, and in so far as it was a Germanic monarchy, it had recognized the rights of the vassals, and had admitted

the delegates of the cities to a place in the national assembly. But these principles of the medieval monarchy, half feudal, half drawn from Teutonic antiquity, principles themselves now decaying, had little to do with the religious conceptions and the Roman traditions on which the theory of the empire rested. . . . And hence the indirect tendency of the Reformation to narrow the province of government and exalt the privileges of the subject was as plainly adverse to what one may call the imperial idea as the Protestant claim of the right of private judgment was to the pretensions of the papacy and the priesthood. The remark must not be omitted in passing how much less than might have been expected the religious movement did at first actually effect in the way of promoting either political progress or freedom of conscience. The habits of centuries were not to be unlearned in a few years, and it was natural that ideas struggling into existence and activity should work erringly and imperfectly for a time."

A German historian, Heeren, in his *Historical Treatises,* says of the Reformation: "That by its influence on Germany, on the Netherlands, on England, and, for a considerable period, on France, it became the origin of political freedom in Europe, can be a matter of doubt only to those who, 'having eyes, see not.'" And Geffcken, in *Church and State,* writes: "It remains an everlasting title to glory of the Reformation that political liberty first became possible through its principles, in a manner very different, indeed, from that of antiquity, when the civil importance of a small minority rested upon the dark background of the slavery of the masses. The principles of liberty of conscience and of universal priesthood, which make man inwardly free, lead also involuntarily to outward liberty. A people who no longer feel themselves in the position of an obedient and submissive laity, at the service of a privileged clergy, will refuse to continue any longer in a state of passive obedience to the government without any rights of their own." Tersely does the French and Roman Catholic historian Michelet express his opinion in his *Life of Martin Luther* in these

words: "It is not incorrect to say that Luther is the restorer of liberty in modern times."

The principles of government and of liberty which the great Reformer promulgated so clearly have found their highest expression in the Constitution of the United States. We look in vain elsewhere for the same emphatic and clean-cut avowal of these principles. Certainly, the French Revolution did not espouse these principles. The French Revolution was not a revolt against absolutism, nor was it a defense of the rights of the individual. It made merely a transfer of absolutism from one depository to another; and instead of defending the rights of the individual, it asserted the authority of the mass. All the power formerly possessed by the king was taken over by the people, undiminished in amount, and untempered in quality. The only substantial change consisted in the substitution of the absolute power of the people for the absolute power of the prince; and this power vaunted itself even in the sphere of the spiritual. But the Constitution of the United States stands unequivocally against absolutism in every form, for the rights of the individual, and for the separation of Church and State.

If, then, the legend on the Liberty Bell, "to proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," has been realized; if the two principles of liberty, the enfranchisement of the individual and the separation of Church and State, form the keystone of the Constitution of the United States, then we must turn to the Monk of Wittenberg to find the mighty agent through whom God brought anew these blessings of liberty to the sons of men. Loyal American citizens have every reason to join in a civic celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation wrought through Martin Luther.

Lutheranism and Christianity.

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In a recent conversation the propriety of addressing Lutherans as "Lutheran Christians" was touched upon. How would this form of address have to be understood? Does the term "Lutheran" qualify the term "Christian," and in what respect? Is "Christian" the genus and "Lutheran" the species? If so, what is the specific difference between the two? Is there anything in the faith of a Lutheran that is not Christian?

Imperceptibly such questions carry one back to the very origin of the Reformation. They invite a scrutiny of Luther's aim as a Reformer. An examination of Luther's object in opposing Rome is the more necessary, because, as regards this question, whether Luther reformed the Church or formed a church, whether he reestablished the Creed or established a creed, there is no agreement — and there never will be — among those who hail Luther as their spiritual leader. "Even from the Protestant standpoint there are various, if not mutually contradictory, conceptions of the *nature* of the Reformation. Whilst some perceive in it merely a *return* to Biblical Christianity, to the simple and pure doctrine of the Gospel, divested of all which they regard as a later addition, as the 'ordinance of men,' and as a disfigurement of the primitive apostolic type of religion (the holders of this view deny that there is any such thing as historical development, or a further unfolding of what has once been positively given), others behold in the Reformation of the sixteenth century only the first impulse to a movement which, supported by the acquired privilege of free investigation, is pressing resistlessly forward, thrusting aside everything, of divine or human origin, which lays claim to authority, and, consequently, regarding the systems of belief drawn up by the Reformers as barriers to further progress, the utter destruction of which is reserved for modern times. Whilst it is the chief concern of the one class to establish the connection of the Reformation, as to its principles, with biblico-

apostolic Christianity, — whilst they hold that the task of Protestantism consists in the maintenance of this very connection, the other class believe that the work of the Reformation will be accomplished only when even this connection shall be dissolved, — when mankind, in its onward march, shall be conducted *beyond* the standpoint of that faith which the Reformers held fast as something that had not yet been superseded, and for which, as every page of their history shows, they were ready to forfeit their possessions and their lives. In a word, these two tendencies bear toward each other the relation of affirmation and negation: the representatives of the one tendency behold in the Reformation the restoration to primitive perfection of that which had become degenerated and distorted; the representatives of the other tendency hail the Reformation as the dawn of an entirely new period, a time which is rupturing all the bonds which connect it with the past, and pressing onward toward a goal scarcely dreamed of by the Reformers." [1] This statement of the Swiss historian is not quite fair to the one side because of the insinuated charge of mental stagnation; but, aside from this, it fairly summarizes tendencies with which every modern reader has become familiar. We expect to see the contrast which Hagenbach has sketched exhibited again during the Quadricentenary of the Reformation. It is, therefore, worth while to ascertain how Luther himself viewed the relation which his reformatory work bears to the Church of Jesus Christ.

Naming a church after a man smacks of sectarianism. "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul?" (1 Cor. 1, 12. 13.) The Bible reader who remembers this arraignment of factionalism in the early Church is at once inclined to declare that a grave impropriety was committed when a certain Church was named

1) Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland Chiefly.* I, 2 f.

Lutheran. To such a person it must be very reassuring to be told that this is exactly what Luther himself thought.

As the designation of a religious society the term "Lutheran" has been traced to one of Luther's fiercest opponents, the Romanist Dr. Eck. He employed it when promulgating the bull *Exsurge, Domine* of June 15, 1520, by which Pope Leo X declared Luther excommunicated from the Church.[2] His successor, Adrian VI, speaks of "the Lutheran sect" and "the Lutherans" in his instructions to the Legate Francesco Chieregati at the Diet of Nuernberg, which met toward the close of the year 1522.[3]

Luther was quick to perceive the danger that must arise to his followers from having the movement which he had inaugurated stamped with his name. As he viewed it, the danger was twofold: on the one hand, a false foundation for men's faith might be created by their espousing Luther's teaching *because it was Luther's,* and by coercing others to do the same; on the other hand, men might jeopardize their peace of conscience by forswearing allegiance to Luther in order to escape persecution, when in reality they would, by casting aside Luther, reject the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Luther set himself resolutely to combat this danger. Disquieting rumors of excesses that were being perpetrated by radical followers of the evangelical teaching had reached Luther at the Wartburg. To obtain a clear insight into the actual state of affairs, he made a secret visit at Wittenberg in the beginning of December, 1521. Returning to his exile, he wrote his *Faithful Admonition to All Christians to Avoid Tumult and Rebellion.* It was published January 19, 1522. In this treatise he says: "I must admonish some who bring reproach upon the holy Gospel and cause many to fall away from it. For there are people who, after reading a page

2) Krauth, *Conservative Reformation,* p. 117. On Eck's activity in publishing this vile document see Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.* IV, 51 ff. J. A. McHugh (*Cath. Encycl.* 9, 458) claims that Eck used the term "Lutherans" even during the debate at Leipzig in 1519.

3) Luther's Works, St. L. Ed. 15, 2125 ff.

or two, or hearing a sermon, proceed helter-skelter to rush at others, and denounce them for not being evangelical, although the people whom they attack are often plain, simple folk, who would gladly learn the truth if some one would teach it them. I have not taught any one to act thus, and St. Paul has voiced his strong disapproval of such a proceeding. The aim of such people is to appear as men who know something new, and to be regarded as good Lutherans. But they are recklessly misapplying the holy Gospel. By such doings you will never drive the Gospel into people's hearts; you will rather scare them away, and you will have a grievous thing to answer for, because you have driven them from the truth. Stop, you fool, listen and let me tell you: In the first place, I beg not to have my name mentioned, and to call people, not Lutheran, but Christian. What is Luther? The doctrine is not mine, nor have I been crucified for any one. St. Paul (1 Cor. 3, 4. 5) would not suffer Christians to be called after Paul or Peter, but only after Christ. Why should I — miserable piece of corruption that I am — have this honor that the children of Christ should be called after my abominable name? No, no, my dear friends; let us abolish party-names, and be called Christians after Christ, whose doctrine we have. The papists deserve to have a party-name, for they are not content with the doctrine and name of Christ; they want to be popish also. Well, let them be called popish, for the pope is their master. I am not, and I do not want to be, anybody's master. I share with the Church the one common doctrine of Christ, who alone is our Master (Matt. 23, 8)." [4])

The letter which Luther wrote to the impetuous knight Ulrich von Hutten about this time has been lost. If it were extant, it would only corroborate the statement quoted from the *Admonition*. Luther refers to it in a letter to his friend Spalatin, who was still tarrying at Worms, on January 16, 1522. "What Hutten has in mind you can see" (from the enclosed writings of the knight). "I would not like to see men fight for the Gospel with force and bloodshed. I have

4) St. L. Ed. 10, 370 f.

answered the person (*dem Menschen*) accordingly. By the Word the world has been overcome, the Church has been preserved; by the Word it will also be restored. And as to Antichrist, he began his rule without physical force, and will also be destroyed without physical force, by the Word." [5]

Two months later (about the middle of March, 1522), when he had returned to Wittenberg, Luther published the comforting letter which he had written to one of the most lovable characters in the early days of the Reformation, the noble Hartmuth von Kronberg. With others this nobleman had incurred the fierce hatred of the Romanists because he was publicly championing Luther's cause. Luther writes him: "We have to thank God with our whole heart because He still gives evidence that He will not suffer His holy Word to be removed, for He has given to you and many others a love for His Word and a spirit that avoids offense. For this proves that these people do not believe on account of a man, but on account of the Word itself. Many there are who believe on my account; but those alone are sincere who adhere to the Word, even though they were to be told that I myself had denied and fallen away from the Word — which God forbid! These are the people that remain unconcerned, no matter what evil, horrible, abominable things they hear about me or my followers. For they do not believe in Luther, but in Christ Himself. The Word has laid hold of them, and they have laid hold of the Word. They disregard Luther; let him be a knave or a saint, — God is able to speak through Balaam as well as through Isaiah, through Caiaphas as well as through St. Peter, yea, through an ass. These are my people. For I myself do not know Luther, and do not wish to know him. Nor do I preach Luther, but Christ. The devil take Luther, if he can; but let him leave Christ in peace; then we also shall abide." [6]

About the middle of April, 1522, Luther published his treatise: *Dr. Martin Luther's Opinion that the Sacrament Should Be Taken in Both Forms, and Other Innovations.*

5) St. L. Ed. 15, 2506.

6) St. L. Ed. 15, 1670.

He concludes the first part of this treatise with the words: "As Paul says, Gal. 1, 8: 'Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed,' so say I, too, in the present case: In this and all other matters you must so firmly and surely build on the Word of God that you would not depart from it, even if I should turn fool — which God forbid! — and should recant and deny my doctrine. In that event you must say: Though Luther himself or an angel from heaven should teach another doctrine, let it be accursed. For you must not be the disciple of Luther, but of Christ. It is not sufficient to say: Luther, Peter, or Paul has said so, but you must feel Christ in your own heart, and you must be conscious without faltering that you have the Word of God, even though the whole world should fight against it. Until you feel thus, you surely have not yet tasted the Word of God. Your ears still cling to the mouth of a man or to his pen; you have not yet embraced the Word with your inmost heart, and have not grasped the meaning of Matt. 23, 10: 'One is your Master, even Christ.' The Master teaches in the hearts of His disciples, however, through the external word of His preachers, who convey it to the ear; but it is Christ who drives the Word home. Hence, consider that you are facing persecution and death. In those trials I cannot be with you nor you with me. Every one must fight for himself, and overcome the devil, death, and the world. If in that emergency you were to look about to see where I am, or I where you are, and were to surrender your faith because you were told that I or some one else had taught a different doctrine, you would perish; for you would have allowed the Word to slip out of your heart; you would not be found clinging to the Word, but to me or others. There would be no help for you." But toward the close of the second part he says (and this refers to the other danger which we noted before): "I observe that a good admonition must be administered to those whom Satan now begins to persecute. There are some among them who would escape danger, when being attacked, by

saying, I am not siding with Luther nor with anybody, but with the holy Gospel, or with the Church, or with the Roman Church.[7]) By such tactics they secure their personal peace, and yet in their heart they regard my doctrine as evangelical and adhere to it. Verily, such a profession does not help them; it is the same as if they had denied Christ. Hence I pray these people to have a care. True, you must not, on your life and soul, say: I am Lutheran, or papist; for neither Luther nor the pope has died for you, nor is he your master, but Christ alone, and to Him you must profess allegiance. But if you hold that Luther's teaching is evangelical, and the pope's teaching unevangelical, you must not utterly cast Luther aside, or you will also cast his teaching aside, which you regard as the teaching of Christ. This is what you must say: I do not care whether Luther is a knave or a saint; his teaching, however, is not his, but Christ's own. For you observe that the tyrants are not merely seeking to kill Luther, but to destroy his teaching. It is because of the teaching that they lay hands on you, and ask you whether you are Lutheran. Verily, in such a case you must not talk in words that sway like a reed, but must plainly confess Christ, no matter whether it is Luther, Claus, or George that has preached Him. Let go of the person, but confess the teaching. Thus St. Paul, too, writes to Timothy (2 Tim. 1, 8): 'Be not thou ashamed of the testimony of our Lord nor of me, his prisoner.' If it had been sufficient for Timothy to confess the Gospel, Paul would not have commanded him not to be ashamed of him, *viz.*, not of Paul's person, but of Paul as a prisoner for the sake of the Gospel. If Timothy had said: I do not side with Paul nor with Peter, but with Christ, and had known at the same time that Paul and Peter were teaching Christ, he would have denied

7) It was, no doubt, for reasons of personal advantage that Zwingli in Switzerland about this time manifested irritation when the Catholic party identified him with Luther. His statement: "Neque ego Lutheri causae hic patrocinor, sed evangelii," *i. e.:* "I am not championing Luther's cause, but the Gospel's," cannot enhance the world's esteem for him.

Christ Himself. For Christ says regarding those who preach Him (Matt. 10, 40): 'He that receiveth you receiveth Me,' and (Luke 10, 16): 'He that despiseth you despiseth Me.' Why? Because treatment accorded Christ's messengers who bring to men His Word is regarded as treatment accorded to Christ Himself and His Word." [8])

The friends of the Reformation at Miltenberg on the Main were the first to suffer violence at the hands of the Catholics. In 1524, Luther addressed a consolatory letter to them, to which he appended an exposition of the 120th Psalm. In this letter he says: "Although I do not like to see the doctrine and people called Lutheran, and must suffer to see God's Word sullied with my name, still they must permit Luther, the Lutheran teaching and people, to remain, while they, together with their teaching, perish and are put to shame." [9])

In 1528, some of Luther's friends in the dominions of Duke George of Saxony, Luther's confirmed enemy, tried to reach an agreement regarding their religion with the Duke. One of the articles referred to Luther's doctrine: they proposed to say, that they intended to abide by the Gospel. Luther held that this would not suffice the Duke as an answer, and suggested that they might say: Inasmuch as the question regarding Luther's teaching referred to many things, they could not return a definite answer; for Luther was teaching many things which even Duke George approved, as, *e. g.*, his defense of the Sacrament against the enthusiasts, his statements about soldiers, secular government, etc. "Moreover, Luther himself purposes not to be Lutheran, except as far as he purely teaches the Holy Scriptures." [10])

A year later Luther was compelled to issue against Duke George his treatise *Concerning Secret and Stolen Letters,* to which he appended a brief exposition of the 7th Psalm. The seventh verse in this Psalm Luther makes to apply directly to his work as a teacher in the Church. He says: "Why, my hearty wish and prayer, my diligent teaching and

8) St. L. Ed. 20, 73 f. 90 f.
9) St. L. Ed. 5, 1283.
10) St. L. Ed. 21 a, 1093.

writing, aims at nothing else than to see the poor masses of Thy people, who have been so miserably torn by sects and confused by dreams of men, scattered and straying like a flock of sheep, converted to Thee again, that by Thy Spirit they may know Thee in the true faith as their only Shepherd and Master and Bishop of their souls. (Ezek. 34, 23; 1 Pet. 2, 25.) And for their sake I still pray that Thou wouldest exalt and preserve Thyself and Thy Word through our ministry, in order that they may abide with Thee in the one faith. For I have not sought to have them cling to me, or that I should rise to honor and high station, but I have directed them to Thee, and made them cling to Thee, in order that Thou mightest be greatly exalted, and glorious and praiseworthy among them." [11])

On Saturday after St. John's Day, July 1, 1531, Luther preached on the words of Christ in John 7, 16: "The doctrine is not mine," and said: "That is what I also say: The Gospel is not mine, thus distinguishing my teaching from that of all other preachers who do not hold my doctrine. Accordingly, I can say: This is my doctrine, — Luther's doctrine; and again: It is not my doctrine; it is not in my hand, but is the gift of God. Good Lord, I have not spun it out of my own head; it did not grow in my garden; it did not flow from my spring; it was not born of me. It is God's gift, not an invention of man. Thus both statements are correct: The doctrine is mine, and yet, not mine. For it is of God, the heavenly Father, and yet it is I that preach and maintain this doctrine." [12])

In this manner Luther consistently, throughout his writings, maintains the identity of his teaching with that of Christ, of the Bible, of the true apostolic Church. To be Lutheran a doctrine must be Christian, and anything Christian is Lutheran. The Swedish king spoke Luther's mind when he said: "Let us not call our Church Lutheran, let us call it Christian and Apostolic." [13]) And it is well that attention has been called to the fact that "the Lutheran

11) St. L. Ed. 19, 542. 12) St. L. Ed. 8, 27.
13) Krauth, *Conserv. Reform.*, p. 118.

Church has never by any general official act taken the name Lutheran. Art, history, and popular usage have practically determined its title. Said the Marquis of Brandenburg when ridiculed as a Lutheran: 'If I be asked whether with heart and lip I confess that faith which God has restored to us by Luther as His instrument, I have no scruple, nor have I a disposition to shrink from the name Lutheran. Thus understood, I am, and shall to my dying hour remain, a Lutheran.' This is the only sense in which any Lutheran tolerates the name." [14]) The very confessional writings of our Church avoid this denominational name which enemies have fastened upon our Church, and when the last of the creedal utterances of our Church, the Form of Concord, in words that vibrate with earnestness, waives every human authority as a determinant for men's faith, and traces Luther's teaching only to the pure fountain of Israel, the Word of God, the world must acknowledge that the Lutherans have done all in their power to clear their common denominational name from the charge of sectarianism. Adapting the saying of William Chillingworth to his own Church, the Lutheran truthfully asserts: "The Bible, the whole Bible, nothing but the Bible, is the religion of Lutheranism." For even Protestantism, in whose behalf the English confessor uttered his winged word, when understood in its historical and original meaning, is bound up in Lutheranism, and Archbishop Bramhall properly reminded his countrymen — and others — that "the name Protestant is one to which others have no right but by communion with the Lutherans." [15])

Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr'
Vergehet nun und nimmermehr —

in this memorial verse Lutheran catechumens are taught to express their conviction of the identity and the permanency of Lutheran teaching and Bible-teaching. "Luthers Lehr'," not *in so far* as it is God's Word, but *because* it is God's Word, is ever-enduring. The world will ever need it, as it

14) H. E. Jacobs, in *Universal Cyclopedia*, 7, 358.
15) *Conserv. Reform.*, p. 117.

needs the pure Word and the pure Gospel of the Redeemer, and God will permit the extinction of Lutheranism as little as that of His Word and Christ's evangel. The human or historic title may perish, — though we doubt even that, — but Lutheranism as a principle of religion is imperishable. The various essays in this book, in distinct ways and with different degrees of pointedness, all serve to exhibit the harmony of "Gottes Wort" and "Luthers Lehr'"; but we would invite special attention to the discussion of the three great principles in Luther's and the Bible's teaching: *Sola Scriptura, Sola Gratia, Sola Fide.*[16])

Whether there is anything in a name, depends very much on the appropriateness of the name. As regards the name "Lutheran," the compelling logic, the eminent fitness of the name, which induced the followers of the evangelical teaching emanating from Wittenberg not only to bow with such grace as they could muster to the inevitable, to this seeming sect name, but to accept it with as great a joy, and cherish it as just as exquisite a badge of honor as the early disciples accepted the name Christians, — the noble record which the name has made for itself in four centuries, the blessed influences which have gone out from the Church that has maintained the name in its true historic and only legitimate meaning, — these things have been forcefully and eloquently set forth by two of America's Lutheran teachers, and there is no need of repeating their argument.[17]) But we cannot

16) See Prof. Engelder's article, p. 97.

17) See Dr. Walther's series of articles "On the Name Lutheran," with which he started his famous periodical, *Der Lutheraner*, Vol. 1, 2 ff. 5 ff. 9 ff., etc., also his Foreword to Vol. 6 of *Der Lutheraner*, on the charge of exclusivism raised against the Lutheran Church; and Dr. Krauth, in *Conserv. Reform.*, p. 121 f., where he reviews, somewhat as Walther had done, various names which possibly might be applied to our Church, and concludes: "Every one of them, as the distinctive name of a communion, is open to the charge of claiming too much, expressing too little, or of thrusting an accident into the place of an essential principle. The necessity of distinctive names arises from the indisputable divisions of Christendom, and in the posture of all the

forego the pleasure of noting a few of the utterances of Walther on the relation of Lutheranism to Christianity. He says: "By professing allegiance to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, we mean to profess allegiance to none other than the [afore-described] one, holy, catholic, Christian Church of all times, which alone has and holds the truth, and comprises the sum total of all the children of God." "The Lutheran Church is not the visible totality of all who are called Lutheran, but the great, unchangeable Church, to which all those who are rightly called Lutherans profess allegiance by their teaching. To this Church millions of souls have belonged before Luther's name was uttered in this world, and who were not called Lutheran. Accordingly, a particular congregation, or a national Church, in which Lutheran doctrine is preached and received, is only *a,* but not *the,* Lutheran Church; for this Church is scattered throughout the world." "We extend our hand to any person who without guile submits to the entire written Word of God, cherishes in his heart and professes before men the

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facts the name of Luther defines the character of a particular Church as no other could. It has been borne specifically by but one Church; and that Church, relieved as she is of all the responsibility of assuming it, need not be ashamed of it. No name of a mere man is more dear to Christendom and to humanity. It is a continual remembrancer of the living faith, the untiring energy, the love of Christ and of men, on the part of one who did such eminent service to the Church, that men cannot think of her without thinking of him." — Schmauck and Benze, in *The Confessional Principle and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church,* p. 6: "The great error of Schaff in his *Creeds of Christendom* and of many liberal Lutherans is the assumption that Lutheranism is a form of Protestantism colored by the personal opinions of two reformers, Luther and Melanchthon. Lutheranism is the old faith of the Church, catholic and evangelical, protestant only as to Roman errors, founded on the teaching of Scripture, without the admixture of human reason. Luther and Melanchthon, as the authors of 'personal opinions,' have no more to do with Lutheranism than the crack of the Liberty Bell has to do with our national liberty itself."

true faith in our dear Lord Jesus Christ; we regard such a person as our fellow-believer, our brother in Christ, a member of our Church, a Lutheran, no matter among what sect he may be concealed and kept a prisoner." "As long as there has been an orthodox Church on earth, so long there has been a Lutheran Church. It sounds strange, but it is true, the Lutheran Church is as old as the world; for it has no other doctrine than that which the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles received from God, and proclaimed. The *name* Lutheran, indeed, did not come into existence until three hundred years ago, but not the *matter* which that name signifies. Accordingly, the question, Where was the Lutheran Church before Luther? is easily answered, thus: The Lutheran Church was wherever there still were Christians who with all their heart believed in Jesus Christ and His Holy Word, and would not surrender this alone-saving faith of theirs in favor of human ordinances, or who made this Church their final refuge in the hour of death." "Luther by no means founded a new Church, much less was that his intention. On the contrary, he raised his protest against the papists because they had in innumerable doctrines departed from the old, true, apostolic Church. His writings were nothing else than a call to Christendom not to forsake the old Church. . . . All doctrines which Luther, by his study of the Word of God, recognized as the doctrines of the true Church he retained, proclaimed them to the world, and defended them till his death." [18]

It is possible that there will be people who manifest unbounded astonishment at assertions such as these. They will only reveal that they have not grasped the true import of what happened four hundred years ago. They would assign us a seat on the sectarian bench: we decline, decidedly. If Luther organized a sect, we will have nothing to do with him; we belong to Jesus Christ.

Ah, but then we are "the alone-saving Church," and the Roman Church has revived in the Lutheran! Yes, we must be prepared for this shallow inference from statements which

18) *Der Lutheraner*, 1, 97. 99. (Comp. 6, 18) 5. 6 f. 97.

assert merely the ecumenical character of Lutheran teaching, and merge Lutheranism utterly in Christianity, so much so, that we see Luther no more, but "Jesus only."

We must be prepared likewise to meet the objection that the claim of scripturalness and catholicity is asserted by every sect. Anybody can assert. The patient expounder of Lutheranism will succeed in showing to the satisfaction of every unbiased mind that the Lutheran Reformation is nothing but the restoration of Christianity in its original, pure form.

From this it follows that, when we speak of a mission of the Lutheran Church, we do not mean, and we cannot mean, anything else than a reassertion of Biblical teaching in all its parts. "To the Law and to the testimony!" — that is the slogan for this mission. There is a reason why other Churches professing to stand on the Protestant foundation are speaking of a further development of the principles of the Reformation: they have had bequeathed to them a task unfinished, or faultily executed by their founders. The Lutheran Church, viewing the Reformation as the movement by which men were brought back to the arms of Jesus, enfolded in the Scriptures of God, and enabled to have a free access by faith to the heart of the God of grace, rests satisfied with those achievements. Its task in the future can only be to apply to every arising need, amid the ever-changing circumstances of men's earthly existence, the eternal truths which the angel flying through the midst of heaven with the everlasting Gospel proclaimed to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people. (Rev. 14, 6. 7.) The faithful testimony of the Lutheran Church can render invaluable aid to every other Church in making it see the deficiencies of its teaching. Oh! may this testimony be largely rendered, and in no spirit of haughty superiority, but of serving love. After writing the words above quoted to Hartmuth von Kronberg, Luther pleads that the poor Roman Catholics be kindly treated and with much forbearance weaned from their shocking errors. The warning applies to the whole activity of the Church, and it may not

be amiss that we remind ourselves during the coming days of the anniversary that the virulence of passion can never add to, but may subtract from, the majesty of simple truth, spoken without fear or favor. As a witness for Christ and leading men to abide in His Word, the Lutheran Church will fulfil her enlightening and liberating world-mission. She does not stake her success on the spread of a human name or on the organization of one universal, visible Church, but on the dissemination of the truth as it is in Christ. She is content if, with Luther and his early followers, men accept the teaching of the apostles and prophets, and give full recognition to the personality and work of Christ, who is the chief corner-stone on which men's faith must be built up.

With malice toward none, with love toward all, with peace in their hearts and truth on their lips, let the sons and daughters of the Lutheran Church address themselves to the tasks of the new age. Let them reclaim from error those who are still fettered by it, aid all who struggle to assert and maintain the pure pristine teaching of God's people; above all, let them hold that fast which they have, that no man may take their crown. And let them trustfully confide to the God of truth, righteousness, and love the fortunes of their Church as they were taught to do in their childhood days:

God's Word, which Martin Luther taught,
Shall nevermore be brought to naught.

Chronological Table of the Age of Luther.

1439—1493 Frederick III (IV) Emperor of Germany.
1440 (?) Gutenberg invents printing-press.
1450 Vatican Library founded by Pope Nicholas V.
1453 Mahomet II takes Constantinople.
1455 Gutenberg prints his first Bible.
1471—1484 Sixtus IV Pope.
1477 First watches made at Nuernberg.
1483 Richard of York smothers the princes; is proclaimed king of England.
November 10. *Martin Luther born at Eisleben.*

1484 William Tyndale born.
January 1, Ulrich Zwingli born.
1484—1492 Innocent VIII Pope.
1484—1497 *Luther at Mansfeld.*
1485 August 25. Saxony, by the Treaty of Leipzig, divided into two parts: Electoral, or Ernestine, and Ducal, or Albertine Saxony.
1485—1500 Albert Duke of Saxony.
1487—1525 Frederick the Wise Elector of Saxony.
1488 Henry VII founds English navy.
1489 John Wessel dies.
1492—1503 Alexander VI Pope.
1492 Fall of Granada; end of Moorish reign in Europe.
October 12. Columbus discovers America.
1494—1547 Francis I King of France.
1494—1547 Henry VIII King of England; ascends throne 1509.
1497 Melanchthon born.
Cabot reaches coast of Newfoundland.
1497—1498 *Luther at the school of the Nullbrueder at Magdeburg.*
1498 Savonarola burned at the stake.
Columbus reaches mouth of Orinoco.
India reached by sea from Portugal.
1498—1501 *Luther at St. George's School at Eisenach; received by Frau Cotta.*
1499 Switzerland establishes its independence.
1500—1539 George the Bearded Duke of Saxony.
1501 *Luther begins studies at University of Erfurt.*
1502 *Luther takes degree of Bachelor of Arts.*
Columbus surveys coast of Colombia.
University of Wittenberg founded.
1503—1513 Julius II Pope.
1505 *Luther takes degree of Master of Arts.*
July 12. *Luther enters Augustinian monastery at Erfurt.*
1506 Building of St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome begun.
Columbus dies broken-hearted.
1507 Spring. *Luther ordained priest; first mass May 2.*
1508—1567 Philip the Magnanimous, Landgrave of Hesse (born 1504; declared of age 1517).
1508 November. *Luther called to professorship at Wittenberg; teaches Ethics of Aristotle.*
1509 March 9. *Luther takes degree of Baccalaureus ad Biblia.*
July 10. Calvin born.
1510 Autumn. *Luther teaches Lombard's Sentences at Erfurt.*
1511 Summer. *Luther returns to Wittenberg to lecture on the Bible.*
October—1512, February. *Luther's journey to Rome, where he spends month of December.*
Council of Pisa.

1512 October 18. *Luther takes degree of Doctor of Theology.*
Ponce de Leon in search of Fountain of Perpetual Youth.
1512—1517 Fifth Lateran Council.
1513 Vasco de Balboa discovers Pacific Ocean.
1513—1521 Leo X Pope. (Dies December 1, 1521.)
1514 Reuchlin's Controversy with Dominicans.
Cortez begins conquest of Mexico.
1515 May. *Luther elected district vicar of his order.*
1516 "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum" published.
Erasmus publishes Greek New Testament.
Zwingli goes to Maria-Einsiedeln.
1517 October 31. *Luther posts Ninety-Five Theses on Indulgences on Castle Church at Wittenberg.*
1518 Melanchthon becomes professor at Wittenberg.
Luther at Heidelberg.
October 12—14. *Luther's interview with Cajetan at Augsburg.*
1519 January 1. Zwingli preaches initial sermon at Zurich.
January 4—5. *Luther's interview with Miltitz at Altenburg.*
July 4—14. *Luther's debate with Eck at Leipzig.*
1519—1555 Charles V Emperor of Germany (elected June, 1519; crowned October 23, 1520; retires to monastery of St. Just 1557).
1520 Massacre of Stockholm instituted by Christian II, King of Denmark.
June 15. Leo X signs bull "Exsurge Domine," excommunicating Luther if he fails to recant within sixty days.
August. *Luther publishes "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Improvement of the Christian Estate."*
October. *Luther publishes the treatise "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church."*
November. *Luther publishes tract "On the Freedom of a Christian Man."*
December 10. *Luther burns the Pope's bull and the Canon Law.*
1521 March 16. Magellan discovers Philippine Islands.
April 17—18. *Luther appears before Diet at Worms.* (Edict of Worms signed May 26, dated May 8.)
Mexico City taken by Cortez.
May 4—1522, March 1. *Luther's exile at the Wartburg; translation of Bible begun.*
Melanchthon's "Loci" published.
Beginning of the reformation at Riga.
1522 March. *Luther preaches eight sermons against the Zwickau prophets at Wittenberg.*
Reuchlin dies.
Magellan completes circumnavigation of the globe.

1522—1523 Hadrian VI Pope.
1523 April 4—5. Catherine von Bora (born at Lippendorf January 29, 1499) leaves Nimbschen Cistercian Cloister, which she entered 1508, and where she took the veil October 8, 1515.
May 7. Sickingen overthrown and revolt of knights quelled at Landstuhl.
Thomas Muenzer at Allstaedt.
Spanish Inquisition begins reign of terror in Netherlands; H. Voes and J. Esch first martyrs of the Reformation.
Luther's controversy with Henry VIII.
1523—1534 Clement VII Pope.
1524 Staupitz dies.
Karlstadt at Orlamuende.
Erasmus attacks Luther.
Diet of Nuernberg. Treaty of Regensburg.
Luther publishes appeal "To the Magistrates of All Cities of Germany in behalf of Christian Schools."
Luther publishes tract "On Trade and Usury."
1524—1525 May. Peasants' War; supprcssed at Frankenhausen.
Luther writes "Against the Thievish and Murderous Hordes of Peasants."
1525 February 24. Charles V defeats Francis I at battle of Pavia.
June 23. *Luther marries Catherine von Bora.*
Anabaptist uprising in Switzerland.
Beginning of controversy regarding Lord's Supper.
Luther publishes treatise "On the Bondage of the Will" against Erasmus.
1525—1532 John the Steadfast Elector of Saxony.
1526 May 4. Formation of League of Torgau between Philip of Hesse and John of Saxony.
June—July. Diet and Recess of Spires.
Luther publishes "German Mass."
June 7. *Hans Luther born.*
Debate at Baden between Zwinglians and Catholics.
Tyndale publishes English New Testament.
1527 Diets of Odense and Westeraes; Gustavus Vasa succeeds in having Lutheranism adopted.
May 6. Spanish army sacks Rome and imprisons Pope.
July. *Luther severely ill.*
(?) *"Ein' feste Burg."*
December 10. *Elizabeth Luther born.*
1528 First Disputation at Berne.
August 3. *Elizabeth Luther dies.*
1529 *Visitation of churches in Saxony; Luther's Catechisms.*
Diet of Spires; Recess April 12; Protest of Lutheran Princes April 25.
Vienna besieged by Turks.

May 4. *Magdalene Luther born.*
October 2. *Luther's Conference with Zwingli at Marburg.* First Peace of Kappel between Zwinglians and Romanists.

1530 Diet of Augsburg: arrival of Emperor June 15, presentation of Augsburg Confession June 25, Recess of Augsburg published in Imperial Edict November 19.
April 23—October 4. *Luther's exile at Feste Koburg during Diet of Augsburg.*
May 29. *Luther's father dies.*
Tyndale publishes his English Pentateuch.

1531 Formation of Smalcald League.
June 30. *Luther's mother dies.*
October 11. Zwingli slain in battle at Kappel.
November 9. *Martin Luther, Jr., born.*

1532—1547 John Frederick the Magnanimous Elector of Saxony (lived as Duke of Saxony till 1554).

1532 February 4. *Black Cloister at Wittenberg deeded to Luther.*
Diet of Ratisbon.
Peace of Nuernberg between Catholics and Protestants.
Henry VIII renounces allegiance to the Pope.

1533 January 28. *Paul Luther born.*
Pizarro conquers Peru.

1534 *Luther completes translation of the Bible.*
December 17. *Margaret Luther born.*
Reformation of Wuerttemberg; Duke Ulrich restored by Philip of Hesse.

1534—1535 Anabaptist uprising at Muenster.

1534—1549 Paul III Pope.

1535 Calvin publishes his "Institutio Religionis Christianae."
Henry VIII has Sir Thomas More beheaded for denying his supremacy in the spiritual affairs of his subjects.
November 7. *Luther confers with papal legate Vergerio at Wittenberg.*

1536 Calvin in Geneva.
Erasmus dies.
May 29. *Luther signs Wittenberg Concordia.*
World's first newspaper, "The Gazetta," published at Venice.
Diet of Copenhagen.
October 6. Tyndale burned at Vilvoorden. ("Lord, open the King of England's eyes!")

1537 February. *Luther prepares Smalcald Articles, goes to attend Congress at Smalcald, where he is very ill with the stone, and makes his first will February 27.*
Controversy with Antinomians.

1538 League of Nuernberg formed.
Calvin expelled from Geneva.
1539 February—April. Congress at Frankfort; negotiations with Emperor; Treaty of Frankfort signed April 19.
May. *Luther at Leipzig; inaugurates reformation in Albertine Saxony.*
Reformation introduced in Brandenburg by Joachim II.
Diet of Odense.
December 10. *Luther signs "confessional counsel" in the matter of Philip of Hesse's second marriage.*
1539—1541 Henry the Pious Duke of Saxony.
1540 January—February. *Catherine Luther very ill.*
June. Religious Conference at Spires and Hagenau.
July. *Luther at Conference at Eisenach.*
Society of Jesus ("Jesuits") formed.
1541 January. Religious conference at Worms.
Karlstadt dies.
Regensburg Interim.
Calvin returns to Geneva.
1541 April—July. Diet and religious conference at Ratisbon.
Reformation at Halle begun.
Fernando de Soto discovers the Mississippi River.
1541—1546 Maurice Duke of Saxony (becomes Elector of Saxony 1546, dies 1553).
1542 January 6. *Luther makes his second will.*
War of Smalcald League with Duke Henry of Brunswick, who is expelled and his country opened to the Reformation.
Beginning of Roman Inquisition; Francis Xavier in India.
September 20. *Magdalene Luther dies.*
1543 Diet of Nuernberg.
1544 Diet of Spires.
Peace of Crespy.
1545—1547 (1563) Council of Trent.
1545 Diet of Worms.
1546 February 18. *Luther dies at Eisleben; buried at the foot of his pulpit in the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg, February 22.*
Religious Conference at Regensburg.
Diet of Ratisbon.
Beginning of Smalcaldic War.
1547 April 24. Defeated in battle at Muehlberg, Elector John Frederick loses his electorate and half of his country.
1552 December 20. *Catherine Luther dies.*

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